

The Outlook

OCTOBER 18, 1916

Offices, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York

THE STORY OF THE WAR: THE SUBMARINE WAR OFF OUR COAST

Admiration at the physical exploit of the German submarine U-53, Captain Rose, in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, and baseless hopes that the adventure had a bearing on peace proposals or on amicable settlement of the questions still at issue between Germany and the United States, gave way in a day to the shock of learning that the U-53 came not in peace but in war. As Mr. Roosevelt has put it in a public statement: "War has been creeping nearer and nearer, until it stares at us from just beyond our three-mile limit, and we face it without policy, plan, purpose, or preparation."

In a few hours on Sunday of last week, following her dash into Newport and out again after a three hours' stay, the U-53 (perhaps aided by another submarine) stopped and sank five, possibly six, merchant vessels. It is claimed that the technical requirements of the legal process of visit and search and of provisions for the safety of crew and passengers were observed; and our Government has apparently accepted this view. One of the vessels was Dutch, one Norwegian, the others British. One, the *Stephano*, was a passenger liner, voyaging from Canada to the United States, and having on board many of our citizens, some returning from their summer vacations. The lives of all were saved because of the instant response of our destroyer squadron at Newport to wireless calls. It is impossible to say what the submarine would have done if help had not been at hand, but there are not lacking instances elsewhere in which (even since Germany's "pledge" to the United States) German submarines have left neutrals and non-combatants at sea in open boats, and it is exasperating to feel that our navy is forced to act as a tender to a commerce-destroying warfare which President Wilson describes as being "utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity."

All were saved, in fact, but the driving of

helpless women and children into open boats lowered in haste on the high seas is far from being a process free from "jeopardy."

At least two neutral ships were destroyed. Holland and Norway will doubtless protest; if they had the aid of the largest neutral nation of the world in enforcing neutral rights at sea, the protest might avail. Presumably Germany claims that these ships carried contraband or conditional contraband, although no proof of this has yet been submitted. Even so, the questions raised in the case of the *William P. Frye*, an American vessel, and followed by Germany's partial admission of wrong-doing, may apply here. If these neutral ships did not carry contraband, then their sinking was pure piracy.

After her day of destruction the U-53 disappeared from the ken of eye or wireless. Conjecture and imagination have played rather wildly about the questions whether this was a single spectacular raid or the beginning of an extensive commerce-destroying war just outside our three-mile limit; whether we were facing a practical blockade of our ports from beyond the three-mile limit, such as we have already warned Great Britain might amount to an unfriendly act; whether the U-53 had a supply ship, possibly one of the monster German merchant submarines; whether she had a supply station on some remote, unoccupied island or beach; even whether she was really built in Germany or put together somewhere on this side the water. All such questions belong to the field of conjecture and remain unanswered as we write.

Meanwhile our Government has received a memorandum from the Allies urging it "to take efficacious measures tending to prevent belligerent submarines, regardless of their use, to avail themselves of neutral waters, roadsteads, and harbors." It is argued that the nature of such craft exposes to danger neutral submarines in the same waters—that is, for instance, an American submarine near our coast might be fired upon by mistake, and that if belligerent submarines are allowed

to enter neutral ports for supplies their character makes even the legal short stay an aid to their war operations, such as is not at all intended under international law. Our Government declined to accept this view, declared that it was the duty and responsibility of a belligerent to distinguish between hostile and neutral submarines, and said also (in its note dated August 31, but just now published):

The Government of the United States reserves its liberty of action in all respects and will treat such vessels as, in its opinion, becomes the action of a Power which may be said to have taken the first steps toward establishing the principles of neutrality, and which for over a century has maintained those principles in the traditional spirit and with the high sense of impartiality in which they were conceived.

In taking this position it seems to us that our Government contradicts its own earlier position that submarine warfare against merchantmen is incompatible with humanity and international law.

There is no question that Americans have been stirred by this war at their own doors on neutrals, non-combatants, and peaceful trade. Whether or not it was piratical or just barely within the bounds of law, it has been a "close-up" (to use the "movie" phrase) of German frightfulness and a reminder that we are now and long have been on the border of serious trouble and danger. Elsewhere we print some expressions of opinion in the Middle West, obtained by telegraph from special correspondents, together with a "Poll of the International Press" and editorial comment on the significance of the incident.

RUMANIA HARD PRESSED

The double attack on Rumania—by General von Falkenhayn in Transylvania and General Mackensen in the Dobrudja—grew last week in its intensity and violence. "The enemy is rolling back on the whole line," says one German despatch.

The crossing of the Danube into Bulgaria by the Rumanians, reported last week, is now said to have been a feint probably intended to halt the Transylvania advance by making it necessary to send forces thence to Mackensen's aid. If this was the purpose, it failed dismally, for the little Rumanian army was promptly driven back across the Danube—a strategical retreat, say the

Rumanians; a terrible rout, say the Germans. Neither was the German attack in Transylvania slackened; on the contrary, the Rumanians have abandoned a large part of their early gains, including the important city of Kronstadt; have been in places driven into the mountains between Transylvania and Rumania; and are said to have serious fears for their capital, Bucharest.

There is a growing opinion among military observers that Rumania, led by political reasons, has so far conducted her war without due consideration for the joint purposes of the Allies. The "team work" which for more than a year has been so splendidly carried out by the Allies on the western line seems unknown to Rumania. Her aspirations for territory in Transylvania led her into an overbold push into that country before Russia from the north and the other Allies from the south had moved so as to make Rumania's own territory secure from German attack. This act was blundering and near-sighted. Germany saw the opportunity, and under supreme leadership made a forceful and sudden attack. That this attack will be permanently successful is extremely doubtful; the Grand Duke Nicholas is said to be organizing and pushing southward a Russian army which bids fair to drive through western Rumania to Bulgaria, to force Mackensen back westward, and to connect important links in the semicircle of the expected grand Allied advance through the Balkans.

The Russian campaign in Volhynia and Galicia is now centering more and more on Lemberg. General Brusiloff's policy heretofore has been described as the "shifting attack"—first a hard blow at one point, then an equally hard blow on a distant line. If Lemberg can be taken before winter sets in, the capture will crown an arduous and brilliant campaign and aid in the Russian advance through the Carpathians and in aid of Rumania.

On the Salonika front the British on October 10 occupied five villages on their line of advance along the Struma toward Seres; and there has been an advancing movement also in Macedonia. The Italian army from Avlona is reported to be advancing on Monastir through Albania.

The French and British continued during the week (October 4 to 11) to make small but valuable gains on the Somme front; the British near Thiepval and south of the Ancre River, the French around Chaulnes.

LORD BRYCE ON THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES

The testimony of German as well as of American missionaries confirms the reports of the all but incredible cruelty of the Turkish Government to the Armenians. One letter from Aleppo signed by four German missionaries was published last year in the Swiss papers, and in part at least in German papers, but finally was suppressed by the German censors. It is a detailed story of unspeakable horror addressed to the German Foreign Office, and urging that "our school work will be deprived for the future of its moral basis, and will lose all authority in the eyes of the natives, if it is really beyond the power of the German Government to mitigate the brutality of the treatment which the exiled women and children of the massacred Armenians are receiving."

This letter and other evidence from German sources, together with letters from Danish Red Cross nurses, from other foreigners in the East, and from Armenians, are included in the complete report and summary of evidence prepared for publication by Viscount Bryce, formerly Ambassador to the United States, whose report on the Belgian atrocities convinced many before skeptical on the subject. The New York "Times," which prints this report in advance of its book publication, declares that it forms "a record of horror, callous cruelty, and fiendish massacre far more revolting than Lord Bryce's report on German atrocities in Belgium, which shocked the world a short time ago." In a cable despatch to Dr. James L. Barton Lord Bryce himself says: "Several hundred thousand exiles who survived the horrors of deportation are now perishing of exposure and starvation in the Arabian desert. Latest reports of neutral eye-witnesses describe terrible conditions. Sick people are throwing themselves into graves, begging grave-diggers to bury them; women are going mad and eating grass and carrion; parents are putting children out of their misery, . . . and awaiting death."

The evidence amply bears out these statements. Extermination by wholesale, starvation, deportation, torture, ravishment, murder direct and murder indirect, make the other Armenian atrocities of history, foul and terrible as they were, sink into insignificance. And the Government of Germany dare not even protest when its own missionaries appeal to it out of the East lest it hurt

the sensibilities of its ally and close friend! Heartless and callous are mild words to apply to the German official attitude. That the atrocities are continuing is due to just this German indifference, which thus becomes blood-guiltiness.

Contributions to the relief of the survivors of this attempt to destroy a race, root and branch, should be sent to the office of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York. President Wilson has appointed October 21 and 22 as special days of giving. Let Americans rescue those whom Turks have persecuted and Germans have passed by with indifference.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN: THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECHES

As the Presidential campaign draws to a close political speeches of importance have increased in number.

Some weeks ago it was announced that the President would conduct his campaign speaking mainly at his summer residence at Shadow Lawn, on the New Jersey coast. It was then stated that on each Saturday he would make an address before an appointed gathering. He has followed out this plan.

On Saturday, October 7, he spoke to the National Woodrow Wilson College Men's League. Among those who made the excursion to hear this speech were Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, who introduced the President; W. H. Edwards, formerly the Street Cleaning Commissioner of New York; and Hugh Gordon Miller, a former Progressive, who denounced "the men that had scuttled the Progressive ship."

Acting on the principle that the best defensive is an aggressive, President Wilson in his Saturday speech attacked the Republican party on the ground that it consists of discordant elements. He contrasted the Democratic party, "which is united, made up of congenial elements, and which has determined its direction by its performances and not by its promises," with the Republican party, which he declared to consist of "men of every sort and variety of purpose, . . . shot through with every form of bitterness, every ugly form of hate, every debased purpose of revenge, and every covert desire to recover secret power." He declared that the special interests were working through the Republican party because they "want control of the Treasury of the United States," and "deter-

mination of the foreign connections and policies of the United States," and "possession of the legislation of the United States in order that the comfortable partnerships four years ago broken up may be restored." And the President laid before the independent voter the choice between "the liberal and peaceful policies of the present Administration" and "the probably hostile, the probably warlike, and the inevitably reactionary policies of the opposition."

On the preceding Thursday he made a speech at Omaha, Nebraska. Here he was greeted by thousands who packed the sidewalks as his car went through the streets. In this speech he declared that there was "as much fight in America as in any nation in the world," but that America "held off from the conflagration in Europe" because "when we use the force of this Nation we want to know what we are using it for."

REPUBLICAN ARGUMENTS

On the same day that the President was speaking in Omaha, Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, made an address to a meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York City. He warned the country that the danger to this Nation was not now, but after the war. He said that peace was not maintained by the surrender of just rights, but by the assertion of those rights accompanied by a knowledge of power behind that assertion. He reviewed the Administration's dealings with the questions raised by the war, attacking in particular the lack of action behind the aggressive words of the President. He reviewed the President's Mexican policy, quoting the President's statement in Indianapolis that at criticism of it "Woodrow sat back in his chair and chuckled, knowing that he laughs best who laughs last." And he drew the contrast between the appalling conditions in Mexico, which the President's own Secretary of State had exposed, and "the untimely merriment of the Indianapolis speech."

He attributed the failures of the Administration to a lack of the spirit of American Nationality in the President and in the Democratic party. If this National spirit—"the terrible power of a great Nation in earnest"—is wanting, then "neither fine words nor skillful argument nor expansive sentiment can take its place." The inheritor of this National spirit he declared to be the Republican candidate, Mr. Hughes.

On the very day that the news was pub-

lished of the attack of German submarines upon merchant vessels off the American coast Mr. Hughes made a speech in Philadelphia.

In that speech he reiterated what he had said with regard to the Eight-Hour Law, but, without referring specifically to these submarine attacks, roused his audience by referring to the occasion when "the Lusitania was sunk and the lives of American men, American women, and American children were ruthlessly destroyed" as one of the factors in the Administration's "humiliating failure to safeguard American rights." He added that, though he did not put life and property on the same footing, "we do not propose to tolerate any improper interference with American property, with American mails, or with legitimate commercial intercourse."

In commenting upon the submarine activity off Nantucket Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement, published on Wednesday morning of last week, in which he pointed out that this was the natural consequence of the attitude of the Administration, which, by keeping silent when Belgium was violated, first declined to put America in the position of doing her duty to others, and then, after the Lusitania outrage, allowed America to be put into the position "of refusing to do her duty to her own citizens." It is natural, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt argued, that we should find the war carried "to our very shores." Our failure to protest against the invasion of Belgium was the beginning, according to Mr. Roosevelt, of a policy or lack of policy that has brought danger to us. "Our shameful abandonment of the duty that we owe our own people in the case of the Lusitania," declared Mr. Roosevelt, "was really a giant stride in the policy of impotent submission to the brute policy of the strong."

WARDEN OSBORNE RESIGNS

The long controversy between Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne, Warden of Sing Sing Prison, and his numerous assailants and detractors has come to a sudden and unexpected end.

Just when it appeared to the public that he was about to enjoy the unhampered opportunity of carrying out his ideas of prison reform, Mr. Osborne resigned last week the wardenship of Sing Sing. His reasons for resigning he gives in an open letter to the

present Superintendent of Prisons, Mr. Carter. He says, in part:

You have forbidden that the public shall have full knowledge of what is going on in their own penal institutions, yet this very secrecy which you would enforce is the very thing that made possible the graft and brutality of the old system. . . .

Without the head of the institution being consulted, my office is disorganized. . . .

The Governor who appointed you is antagonistic to the system that is being carried on at Auburn and Sing Sing Prisons; he has tried to use you and your office for political purposes. . . .

I have been finally and reluctantly forced to a realization that without his acquiescence the shameful attacks made upon me in Westchester County would never have been initiated or gained headway. . . .

Governor Whitman, upon being informed over the telephone of Mr. Osborne's resignation, made the following statement:

I am much surprised. I supposed that he was devoted to his work and anxious to remain in it. Warden Osborne has had the support of the administration from the first.

We believe that Mr. Osborne weakens his case by the vague charge against Governor Whitman that he has been insincere in his support of Mr. Osborne and that "without his acquiescence the shameful attacks made upon me in Westchester County would never have been initiated or gained headway." Such a charge as this ought not to be made against the Governor of a State, especially at a time when he is coming before the people for re-election, without specifications and evidence in support of them, and Mr. Osborne furnishes neither. Yet the fundamental issue between the old and the new penology which Mr. Osborne has so dramatically raised, first by his experience within prison walls and then by his administration of Sing Sing, will not be forgotten by the public.

Mr. Osborne has made many serious sacrifices for the cause of prison reform. We hope that leaders in prison reform will bring such pressure upon the authorities as will insure a continuance of an honest and humane prison discipline, administered not for the satisfaction of vindictive justice, but for the cure of crime; and that in Mr. Osborne's successor will be found a man who is willing to carry on the fight against the prison bureaucracy and the forces of reaction to a finish.

NEW YORK DAIRY FARMERS AND MR. DILLON

In last week's issue of *The Outlook* we reported the serious strike of the farmers of New York State against the retail milk distributing companies of New York City. Since the publication of that account of the strike it appears that the farmers have gained considerable ground. Not only have most of the smaller concerns given in to their demands, but it appears that the efforts of the farmers in keeping milk away from the larger distributing agencies have been continuously successful.

Any one who has been at all familiar with the milk situation in New York State knows that the producers have in the past failed to secure a price for their milk which would adequately recompense them for their labor and for the efforts made necessary by the increasingly stringent provision of the health laws of New York City. The farmers have been practically asked by the city to increase the cost of their milk, while at the same time that agency, which wisely compelled them to improve their business methods, had little or no power to help them to secure an adequate return for the labor to be performed.

As readers of *The Outlook* know, the farmers, represented by the Dairymen's League, have been carrying on their fight through the agency of a bureau of one of the departments of the New York State Government itself. A portrait of the head of this bureau, Mr. J. J. Dillon, appears elsewhere in this issue. Mr. Dillon, previous to his acceptance of this office at the hands of Governor Glynn, was engaged for many years as publisher of the "Rural New-Yorker." The function and the purposes of his bureau Mr. Dillon summarized at the time of his appointment as follows:

The Bureau of the Department of Food and Markets is to find a profitable market for the products of the farm in the State of New York, and at the same time to devise such an economic system of distribution of farm food products that, through the savings thus brought about, the farmer may receive more and the consumer may pay less.

He has worked out his original purpose with an aggressiveness which has won him both friends and enemies. He played a large part in the work of compelling the licensing of commission merchants, in the establishment of a system of open auctions for farm products and a system of publish-

ing authoritative statements as to the true prices paid for farm products in the markets of New York State.

THE HISTORY OF THE DAIRY STRIKE

In considering Mr. Dillon's work and the strike of the Dairymen's League, it may be interesting to give here a brief résumé of what the farmers have attempted in this latter direction.

It was on August 28 that the directors of the Dairymen's League voted to make the New York State Department of Food and Markets exclusive agents for the sale of milk for the members of the League. At this time it was agreed that a minimum uniform price for milk approved by the Board of Directors of the League should be adopted to cover a period of six months beginning with October 1, 1916. At this time the Dairymen's League consisted of some thirteen thousand farmers, controlling nearly one hundred and ninety thousand cows. The price set by the directors of the League was such as to afford the farmer, when the interest on his investment had been paid, less than a hired man's wages, as figured by various competent and disinterested authorities.

On September 6 the plans of the Dairymen's League were approved by a large gathering of farmers at Utica, New York. At this meeting the farmers pledged themselves to "loyally support the plan of the Dairymen's League and the Department of Food and Markets" and to "refuse to sign contracts for the delivery of milk after September 30 or to deliver any milk after that date unless sold through their representatives."

A week later the Dairymen's League had grown to some fifteen thousand members, controlling two hundred and fifteen thousand cows, and the membership was daily increasing. The attempt of the large milk producers to force a compromise proved a failure. The farmers neither abandoned their League nor did they succumb to the compromise in price and terms offered by some of the larger concerns.

By the latter part of September contracts for milk began to be made at the League prices. The first to succumb to the League demands were the small dealers and the minor distributors. Evidence shows that business men and local bankers throughout the State were enlisted on the side of the

farmers. Against those farmers who failed to join the League pressure was brought in the shape of a boycott. As the "Rural New-Yorker" described it, "the hesitating producer who likes to pussy-foot with the big dealers is told by the blacksmiths that his horses cannot be shod in their shops. If he is so intent on independence, he has a chance to carry his independence to the limit. He must shoe his own horses. In many ways this independent producer is learning that the industry has a claim on him. In some places it looks as if he would not be able to buy a hat in his own town—certainly not on credit."

As we go to press the amount of milk reaching New York through channels approved by the League is steadily increasing. The small dealers in the city who have already signed League contracts are in some measure beginning to cut into the trade of the large firms which are unable to secure their full supply of milk.

One of the most promising developments is an agreement signed by the officials of the Dairymen's League and certain of the distributors to appoint an investigating committee to determine the cost of producing milk. This committee is to investigate the cost of producing milk during the difficult months of January, February, and March. If they report that the League's demands are too high, prices will be modified for that period to the dealers who have signed contracts. Mr. Dillon describes as the ideal condition both for dealer and farmer a system under which the farmer would produce milk at cost, plus a reasonable profit, and the distributor would sell milk at cost, plus a reasonable profit. Such a system would permit the consumer to profit by the extra supply of cheap summer milk.

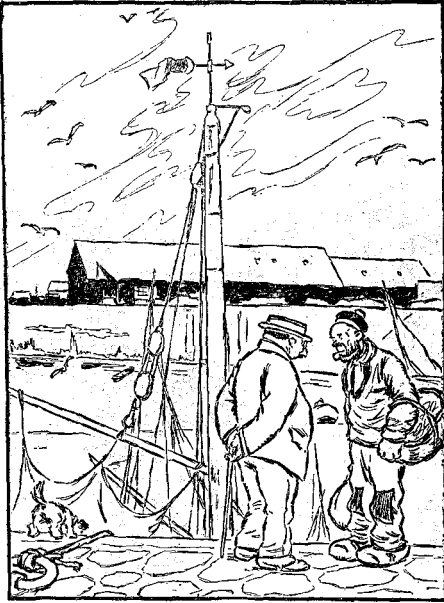
A NOTABLE ANGLICAN PRELATE

On another page appears the portrait of the present Bishop of Worcester, England, Dr. Yeatman-Biggs. When Englishmen hear his name mentioned, they are likely to think, first of all, of his athletic record. He played on the Winchester football team when he was at that famous school; he shot two years in the Wimbledon eleven; and was President of Athletics for his college (Emmanuel) at Cambridge, of which he is now Fellow.

He was trained for holy orders by the well-known Master of the Temple, Dr.

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Le Rive (Paris)



"Is it true that the submarines can stay a long time under the water?"
"Is it true! Why, the Bremen is there yet!"

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SEA

From Lustige Blätter (Berlin)



FALKENHAYN TAKES CARE OF THE OUTSIDE, AND
BETHMANN HOLLWEG CLEANS UP INDOORS

KEEPING THE GERMAN HOUSE IN ORDER

Sykes in the Philadelphia Evening Ledger



PORTRAIT OF MAN WORRYING OVER HIS POLITICAL
FUTURE

THE NATIONAL GAME—BASEBALL,
NOT POLITICS

Pease in the Newark Evening News

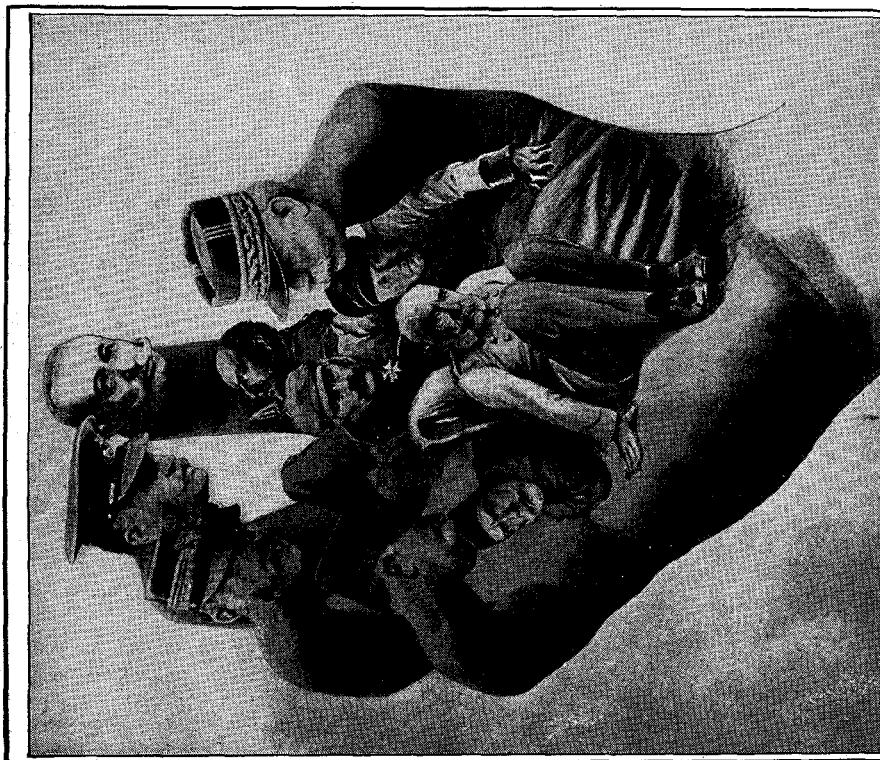


WHICH WAY?

THE MILK PROBLEM

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From *J'ai Vu* (Paris)



The fingers (reading up) represent Generals Sarrail, Cadorna, Haig, Brusiloff, with Joffre as the thumb. In the palm (reading up) are the Sultan, the Kaiser, King Ferdinand, the Crown Prince, and Emperor Francis Joseph.

THE CENTRAL POWERS IN THE GRIP OF THE ALLIES

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



THE BAG

JOHN BULL GETS ONE NOW AND THEN

Vaughan, took a curacy at Salisbury, was vicar successively at Netherbury and Sydenham, became Bishop Suffragan of Southwark, and in 1904 Bishop of Worcester. He is also select preacher to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He comes to this country as delegate from the Church of England to attend the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the sessions of which were opened last week in St. Louis.

One might expect that such a man would regard the present war from one point of view, as a great game which should be played in the traditional English spirit of sportsmanship, and would have a consequent conviction that Germany had not been sportsmanlike. Exactly this we find reflected in an interview with the Bishop published in the New York "Times." "We are playing the game like sportsmen," he asserted, but at the same time said :

I see no evidence of hatred in England. You know, we English are not good haters. You may discuss the war for hours with Englishmen of all classes and hear no abuse of our enemies. . . . We believe in playing the game fairly and in winning by every proper means, but we don't believe in vilifying our opponents. . . . While the English blame the military class of Germany for the war, and not the German masses, it is, however, not easy to draw very fine distinctions between one class and another in a united nation.

Speaking of sport, the Bishop mentioned some notable changes in England. As to cricket, he remarked :

Every one knows what a prominent place in English life cricket formerly held. Yet cricket has now been abandoned in England except by soldiers and school-boys. All of the cricket fields are closed, save those at boys' schools and those situated conveniently for soldiers. . . . The same is true of golf. . . . Golf links where before the beginning of the war players used to stand in long lines waiting for chances to play are now absolutely deserted.

The most striking among recent developments, in the Bishop's opinion, is the spiritual and religious awakening in England. Concerning this he spoke as follows :

There is no doubt, it seems to me, but that England is at the dawn of a great religious revival that will spread in all directions. . . . This revival, in all of its extent and influence, may not reach its height for years, for no great religious movement comes suddenly.

One of the evidences or symptoms of this re-

ligious intensity is the enormous increase in the number of people who make use of retreats. . . . Each of these retreats is either a week-end retreat for busy men and women or else lasts from three to four days, and, except in the first and last hour of each, there is no social intercourse among those participating in them. There are half a dozen services and three addresses each day, and the remaining time is spent in silent prayer and meditation. . . .

Another evidence of the spiritual awakening is in the number of soldiers presenting themselves for confirmation. . . .

A third evidence is the increased attendance at communion services. . . . And, similarly, the attendance at week-day services has greatly increased.

War has had a religious influence upon the men at the front ; what the Bishop of Worcester reports indicates that the religious influence of the war has already extended to the people at home.

THE PLATTSBURG TRAINING CAMPS

On October 5 the last of the Plattsburg Training Camps for the season of 1916 was brought to a conclusion. The smallest camp of the year, it was perhaps in many respects one of the most interesting. Since there were less than a thousand men present, it was feasible to move the Tenth Training Regiment (the official designation of the September camp) conveniently over territory where it would have been less easy to maneuver the larger camps of July and August. The less cultivated region northwest of Plattsburg made a most excellent ground for carrying on the field training of the regiment. At this time of the year the crops were largely gathered and much territory was opened to the troops which was unavailable in earlier camps. The regiment's hike lasted some eleven days, the longest that any of the training regiments have attempted.

The Tenth Training Regiment is the first to profit by the provisions of the present military law. Those men of the Tenth Regiment who took the Federal oath to obey and respect the officers appointed over them for a period of thirty days will be reimbursed for their uniforms, their sustenance, and their traveling expenses to and from the camp. Those who attended the earlier camps during the summer are also to be reimbursed for their legitimate expenses. But the Tenth Training Regiment was the first actually to receive any payment ; for at

the conclusion of the camp the men who took the oath received railway transportation to their homes.

In this connection a word of caution to the twelve thousand Plattsburg men of 1916 is most advisable. Already those who attended the camps during the present summer have begun to receive invitations from agents in Washington and elsewhere to place their claims with the Government in the hands of interested solicitors. The fees charged for this wholly unnecessary work range from two dollars to ten per cent of the money to be received. There is not the slightest excuse for paying attention to the efforts of any one of these claim agents or claim bureaus. Plattsburg men are advised, if in doubt as to the proper procedure, to write either to the Military Training Camps Association, at 31 Nassau Street, New York City, or to the auditor of the War Department. They will receive the money very properly due them from the Government just as soon as it is possible to arrange for its distribution.

MILITARY TRAINING IN NEW YORK STATE

The Outlook has previously had occasion to discuss the law for the military and physical training of the school-children of New York State and the steps which have been taken to put the provisions of this law into effect. The law itself can well be described as a poorly drawn law which has been placed in admirable hands for execution. As readers of The Outlook know, the Military Training Commission, responsible for putting this law into effect, consists of Major-General O'Ryan, Dr. John H. Finley, and Dr. George J. Fisher.

Since the appointment of this Commission the duties attendant upon the recent mobilization of the Guard of New York State have prevented Major-General O'Ryan from taking as active a part as he must have desired, and as the other two members of the Committee have hoped that he might be able to take, in planning for putting into effect the Military Training Law. Nevertheless, despite his preoccupation with the active duties of the militia, he has given valuable advice and counsel to his civilian colleagues. They have found him more than ready to aid them in their desire to place the work of military training upon a broad basis of physical education and social discipline.

Considering the short time that it has had, the Commission has already accom-

plished a remarkable amount of work. It has already provided a uniform system of physical training adapted to all classes of schools, much of which is available for use during the present year. In 1917 it is expected that this system of physical training and education in the questions of hygiene can be put in full force.

Dr. Finley, in a letter accompanying the report of the Military Training Commission to the Regents of the University of the State of New York, says of this programme for physical training:

Every phase of this programme has been in successful operation in some of the most progressive schools of this or other States, but here for the first time, in this country at any rate, have they been brought under State prescription into one systematic programme for practical operation.

It is to touch every child—boy and girl—over eight years of age, in public and private school. . . .

It is appreciated that the most vital factor in the programme is, after all, the teacher or supervisor to whom this important work is intrusted. . . . One such man of adequate training, of zealous interest, and of faculty for this work in each district, would do more to develop wholesome recreational and civic activities in the communities than any other possible agency. . . .

As interpreted by the Military Training Commission, physical training covers medical inspection, talks and recitations in hygiene, and all forms of healthful physical exercise, such as setting-up drills, gymnastic exercises, supervised recreation, organized play, athletics, and a great variety of individual recreational activities.

The programme of physical training will have its compensation in less sickness, longer lives, and greater human efficiency—and that means greater economic benefit, as well as higher effort and nobler accomplishment.

Every private school as well as every public school must make, even this year, provision for supervised physical exercise in accordance with the orders of the Commission. The amount of exercise which is compulsory is specified for the current year; but this represents only part of what will be ultimately required.

Those who saw in the provisions of the Welch-Slater Bill the approach of the dread ogre of militarism should by all means secure a copy of the syllabus of the physical training programme provided for the present year. Probably their worst fears will be realized when they find that the children of New

York State are to be dragooned into playing Drop the Handkerchief, Farmer in the Dell, Prisoner's Base, Shadow Tag, How Many Miles to Babylon? and Skin the Goat. Possibly our anti-vivisectionists might object to the title of this last game, but we do not think that even our most enthusiastic advocates of the abolition of lead soldiers can find in this an approach to Prussianism.

**THE MILITARY TRAINING
COMMISSION: WORK THAT
IS STILL TO BE DONE**

So much has already been accomplished by the Military Training Commission that it is not yet fair to ask of them a complete summary of what they hope to do in the future in the matter of the practical military training of the boys of New York State. From the sound basis of physical training which they have already provided, and from the plan which has been foreshadowed to us by a member of the Commission, we can safely say, however, that we believe that the system to be provided will prove to be of wholesome civic utility, entirely apart from the military value it will undoubtedly possess.

The expected provisions for the inculcation of sane patriotism, the disciplining of the body and the mind, the training of boys in the enjoyment of an outdoor life, and the cultivation of initiative and courage will make the programme of military training for New York State a very different thing from the old-fashioned and burdensome close-order drills which once occupied so large a part in cadet soldiery.

It has been suggested that under the new order of things school-boys may be given a chance to earn badges signifying the service which they are qualified to give their State and country. The Boy Scouts already have such a system of merit badges. Supplied, however, by the State itself, the worth of such insignia would be trebled, both as an incentive to endeavor and as a stimulation to patriotism—the only patriotism worth while, the patriotism of service rendered. The Outlook hopes that some time this plan may be put in successful operation.

**THE "GREAT ADVENTURE"
MOVEMENT IN CALIFORNIA**

A vigorous single-tax campaign is being carried on in California under the taking title of the "Great Adventure." At the November election the voters of the State will cast their

ballots for or against a sweeping measure submitted to them on the petition of 137,000 voters.

The measure provides that hereafter all public revenues (State, county, or municipal) shall be raised by taxation of land values exclusive of improvements, except as income and inheritance tax laws may provide funds for old age pensions, workmen's disability and unemployment insurance, and mothers' endowments. Just how the equal valuation of land demanded is to be ascertained is left open. The intent is plainly stated to take for public use the rental and site values of land and "to reduce land holdings to those only who live on or make productive use of it." This, the supporters of the measure assert, would be "to secure to every adult power to own his own home and direct his own life and work; to abolish landlordism, pauperism, and disemployment; to shift the tax burden from labor to privilege and monopoly."

Three years ago The Outlook summarized the notable advances in the progress of the single tax in law enactment in Great Britain, in British colonies (and especially in Canada), and in Germany, and described the active political support of the idea in New Jersey and New York. But in all this progress the effort was of a step-by-step kind and of a limited application; the California attempt is sweeping and universal. The special conditions in California are urged in support of the measure. Thus it is said:

Vast idle mineral lands—gold, silver, coal, iron, oil, timber, and ranch lands—are already closed to the people of California. . . . City building sites, smaller in area but immense in value, are likewise held idle for speculation. To the would-be user ready to dig and plow and build these lands might as well be sunk to the bottom of the sea. He must pick out his ranch or his lot as if among islands here and there.

And he must pay a price or a rental almost out of reach because of the extreme scarcity of land in our great State of California. Cost of living soars, wages lower, unemployment, poverty, and misery result.

The "Great Adventure" campaign is being pushed vigorously, largely under the leadership of "Luke North" (the pseudonym of the editor of "Everyman"). It seems to be supported by many radical thinkers who are not so much concerned with the measure itself as with the desire to instill their doctrine that ownership of the earth apart from occupation and use

is an "illusion" as well as an injustice. The "adventurers" are being aided materially with money and speakers by single-tax associations outside the State, such as that founded by the late Joseph Fels. There is thus an earnest effort to carry the single tax in Henry George's own State. The advocates of the bill declare that it represents the most vital issue the people of the State have ever had a chance to vote on—"whether the land and its resources shall continue to be controlled by a few speculators and gamblers in human necessities and most of them held idle, or whether they shall be made free and open to all the people on equal terms."

One result of this campaign will undoubtedly be to arouse interest the country over in the single-tax question. We recommend for a clear view of the subject a recently published book by Professor Arthur N. Young, of Princeton, on "The Single Tax Movement in the United States."

BIRDS

The Protection-of-Migratory-Birds Treaty between the United States and Great Britain which was negotiated last spring was approved by the Senate just before the adjournment of Congress and ratified by the President. The exchange of ratifications awaits the action of the British Government.

In general the treaty provides for the protection of birds in the United States and in Canada. In particular the treaty provides that no bird important to agriculture because it is an insect destroyer shall be shot at any time; that the close season on migratory game birds shall be between March 10 and September 1, except that the close season for shore birds shall be between February 1 and August 15; that the season for hunting may be further restricted to such period, not exceeding three months and a half, as the contracting Powers may deem appropriate; that for the protection of special birds there shall be, in the first place, for wood duck and eider duck either a close season extending over a period of at least five years, or refuges shall be established for them, while, in the second place, for band-tailed pigeons, little brown, sandhill, and whooping cranes, for swans, curlews, and almost all shore birds (plover, snipe, and woodcock being exempted), there is to be a continuous close season for ten years; that the taking of nests or eggs of migratory game or migratory insectivorous

birds (which are non-game birds), or other migratory non-game birds is prohibited, except for scientific or propagating purposes; and, finally, that the international traffic in any birds or eggs during the continuance of the close season is likewise prohibited.

Thus migratory birds are divided into three classes: (1) migratory game birds; (2) migratory insectivorous birds; and (3) other migratory non-game birds. Where a bird falls in one of the classes of migratory birds covered by the treaty, it covers not only all individuals of the species which are actually migratory, but other individuals of the species which may reside through the year in the same State. In other words, the species is declared by the treaty to be a migratory one, and the failure of certain individual birds to migrate does not nullify the protection afforded by the law.

Regarding non-game birds, the treaty recognizes some birds that are neither game birds nor insectivorous birds—cranes, for instance. The treaty protects them as much as it does the migratory game birds and the insectivorous birds. The non-migratory birds are the ones left as plunder for the hunter. Their status depends upon State laws, and if the State laws do not protect them they will not be protected. Fortunately, they are few in number, and consist chiefly of grouse, quail, woodpeckers, hawks, and owls. It is feared that non-migratory game birds are going to be wiped out completely at an early date in all localities wherein they are not given five-year close seasons to enable them to recuperate.

Be this as it may, the result of this treaty must benefit the birds, the real sportsmen, and the public.

In the first place, the treaty saves from depletion and threatened annihilation over a thousand species of waterfowl, insectivorous and game birds which migrate across our country twice each year.

Secondly, the real sportsmen among our more than five million sportsmen will welcome the fairer opportunity to the birds, the spring shooting being now eliminated when migratory birds are flying towards their nesting grounds.

Finally, all men will take pride in the guaranty, not only to the present generation of a reasonable supply of migratory wild life, but to future generations of their rightful heritage.

THE NATION'S TWO PATHS

THE LINE OF DUTY AND THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE

Many Americans are wondering what is the real issue in this campaign. Their minds are confused. Political principles seem obscured by a multitude of unrelated questions. The Presidential campaign seems to some to consist merely in a contest between two men, and the question at issue which of the two men the individual voter personally prefers; to others, the chief issue seems to be the Eight-Hour Law; to others, the chance of our embroilment in the world war; to others, Preparedness; to still others, the tariff question; and to a very large number, our policy toward Mexico. In addition, there are other issues tending to complicate the situation—the issue of the Philippines, of Colombia, of the merit system in the civil service, of our relations to Japan, and so on almost without limit.

Not one of these is the real question which the country is to decide on November 7. Rather, all of these are parts of the one great question—Which path shall the country follow for the next four years? Shall it be the path along the line of least resistance, or shall it be the path along the line of duty?

The present Administration under President Wilson has followed the line of least resistance.

In the matter of Preparedness, the line of least resistance has meant a swinging from one extreme of opposition to the movement for National security to the other extreme of advocating the "greatest navy in the world."

When the Japanese question was raised, the Administration did not ask, What is the duty of this country toward its own citizens and toward Japan? but, rather, sent the Secretary of State to try to smooth things out so that there would be no trouble.

When the Panama tolls question was raised, the President did not lay before Congress a policy of right and of responsibility, but told Congress that unless the tolls law was repealed he would face a situation so delicate that he did not know what would happen.

When the Mexican difficulty confronted the Administration, there was no facing of the duty of protecting Americans in Mexico, but rather the adoption of a policy of "watchful waiting." To avoid trouble, the Administration first advocated that the Mexicans spill all the blood they chose, and then, when

complications arose with other nations over the spilling of blood, advocated a course of stopping all revolution. The line of least resistance in Mexico led, on the one side, to the cordial approval of Villa, and then, even when Villa was compliant, to the other extreme of co-operating with Carranza against Villa. To-day the line of least resistance has led the Administration to a recognition of the Carranza Government as a sovereign government, and at the same time to the occupation of Mexican territory on the ground that the Carranza Government is not sovereign.

With reference to Colombia, the line of least resistance has involved the verbal advocacy of paying Colombia twenty-five million dollars in alleged damages, and the failure to press that proposition in the face of hostile opinion.

In our relations with the Philippines the line of least resistance has led to a policy of inviting the Filipinos to expect immediate independence, and then denying it to them.

When a railway strike threatened the Nation, the Administration did not ask, What is the right thing to do? but it waited and waited until the crisis became alarming, and then, following the line of least resistance, did the one thing it believed imperative in order to avoid calamity.

And in all the questions raised by the war in Europe the line of least resistance has meant vigorous and even bellicose words unsupported by acts.

In behalf of this policy the argument has been set forth that by pursuing it the President has "kept us out of war," has "kept us out of Mexico," has averted a great strike, has provided peace and prosperity, has put "safety first"—has, in short, on all these points enabled the United States to avoid trouble.

To this policy there is only one true alternative. Instead of the line of least resistance, the Nation in all these cases might have followed the line of duty. And the question before the country is whether it shall continue to follow the line of least resistance or shall undertake in every new question, or every recurrence of an old question, to determine what is the line of duty, and then to undertake to follow it, no matter what the resistance.

It has been often asked, What would President Wilson's opponents have done in his stead? That question it is impossible for

any one to answer. But it is possible to say what purpose might have been pursued in place of the purpose openly avowed by the supporters of the Administration.

In the next four years the country can on all these questions have, not the purpose of safety, of ease, of present comfort, of the avoidance of immediate trouble, but instead the purpose of duty, of honor, of obligation.

It can deal with the question of Preparedness by asking what the duty of the Nation's Government is in securing the safety of its citizens.

In our relations with Japan the Nation can ask what its duty is toward a friendly and ambitious Power that is consonant with its duty toward the preservation of this Nation's integrity and character.

If ever the question of tolls on the Panama Canal arises again, the Nation can decide that question with a view to the purpose of justice, both toward its own citizens and toward the people of other nations who use the Canal.

In the continuing Mexican problem it can determine its policy by the purpose of protecting the lives and the property of its citizens there, and of fulfilling the Nation's obligation toward other nations which have allowed it to assume responsibility for civilized conditions in its neighborhood.

When the Colombia question comes up, the Nation can decide that question in the light of its duty; and if it decides that it ought to pay the money it will insist upon paying it, and if it decides that the demand for the payment of the money is blackmail it will definitely and unequivocally refuse to pay.

In the matter of the Philippines this Nation can decline to play fast and loose with the dreams of the Filipinos, and can definitely adapt its policy to a purpose of fulfilling its own treaty obligations, protecting the Filipinos from foreign complications, and assuring to its own citizens the maintenance of their rights established through the past eighteen years.

When labor questions arise involving the National function, the Nation can face each question promptly and settle it according, not to the immediate consideration of safety, but to the rights of both parties to the controversy and the rights of the public.

And in the continuing questions or the new issues raised by the war the Nation can set aside considerations merely of comfort in

order to determine its policy according to the duty that a strong nation owes to the weak and a member of the family of nations owes to the public law of nations and to world civilization.

On the whole, President Wilson represents the policy of following the line of least resistance. On the whole, Mr. Hughes represents a policy of following the line of duty.

We wish that Mr. Hughes in his campaign had made it clearer than he has, both by his words and by his general course, that no consideration of safety, of policy, of political benefit, should stand in the way of moral conviction. But Mr. Hughes's record is not merely that which he has made in the campaign, but also that which he has made as Governor and as Justice. And in that record there is evidence that Mr. Hughes was unswerving in any course determined by obligation and public duty. His candidacy represents the only alternative to the candidacy of the President, whose course has been defended, not on the ground that it has been right, but on the ground that it has been safe.

It is between these two lines—the line of least resistance and the line of duty—that the country must decide.

THE GERMAN SUBMARINE AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Americans have no reason to be surprised at the transfer of submarine warfare to the waters near the coast of the United States. The German Government has said nothing and the American Government has done nothing to lead Americans to believe their coastal waters immune from such outrages as the German submarines have committed on the other side of the Atlantic. In sinking merchant vessels in the neighborhood of Nantucket and leaving their crews and, in more than one instance, passengers, including women and children, adrift in small boats on the open sea, Germany has simply continued in our neighborhood her familiar piratical methods.

If the Teutonic submarine officers in these recent instances have not been as ruthless as they or others have been in such cases as that of the *Lusitania* and the *Arabic* and the *Ancona*, it does not follow that they observed either the laws of warfare or the principles of humanity.

If a British cruiser at the opening of the war—before there had been any submarine torpedos—had held up a neutral steam-

ship (or even a German steamship), had given the occupants of the steamship fifteen minutes to get out into their boats in the open sea, and then had sunk the vessel, this country would have been aflame with indignation. The American people at that time had not been taking counsel of their fears long enough to make them cautious in expressing their anger, nor had they become so familiar with the cold-blooded murder of non-combatants after the German method that anything less brutal seemed actually legal and humane. Now, however, if a submarine captain does not repeat the crime of the *Lusitania*, Americans are disposed to be thankful. We have to remind ourselves that, according to all the practices of civilized nations heretofore, and also according to the dictates of common decency, a merchant vessel is entitled to be visited and searched by a belligerent naval vessel before the question can be even raised whether she is liable to capture as a prize; that even then only special exigencies justify the war-vessel in sinking her; and then only after the ship's papers and all her passengers and crew are insured protection and safety.

By our Government's inability or disinclination to take any action putting a stop to these practices in the interest of our common civilization we have become accustomed to seeing the practices of piracy adopted as part of the naval policy of Germany and as a regular feature of German submarine warfare. Fortunately, in these recent instances American naval vessels were close at hand and picked up from open boats on the high seas American women and children as well as American men whom the German submarine commander had made castaways. This fact, however, does not lessen the nature of the crime or modify in any degree the fact that by what this German commander did non-combatant lives, including the lives of American citizens, were put in jeopardy. In the light of that fact, it is well to remember that President Wilson notified Germany that he would hold her to a "strict accountability" for such acts, and would "take any steps it might be necessary to take . . . to secure to American citizens the full accomplishment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas;" that President Wilson told Germany that only resistance or attempted flight on the part of a merchantman could be regarded as any justification for the commander of a submarine "for so much as putting the lives of those on board in jeopardy;" and that Presi-

dent Wilson told the German Government that "the repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of these rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

It is also well to remember that at the beginning President Wilson declared submarine warfare on merchantmen necessarily illegal, and repeated that declaration in the following words last April:

The Government of the United States has been very patient. . . . It has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable—namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

All these words have amounted to nothing. They have made the written record of the United States fairly correct, but the outrages which they properly describe and condemn they have done nothing to prevent.

With the appearance of this submarine warfare in American waters no new question of law or of morals arises, but there does arise a new sense of danger, and, we hope, in the minds of most Americans a new sense of responsibility.

If German submarines are going to ply their nefarious trade near American ports with any degree of effectiveness, they will be practically—even if not technically—blockading our ports; they will be menacing our coastwise traffic, for no vessel can enter a zone infested by submarines without running into danger; they will be inviting reprisals by the Allied cruisers which may conceivably be directed by mistake against our own submarines; they will be necessarily dependent upon supplies which can be only obtained either from bases near our shores or from accomplices in the United States—in either case trespassing upon American forbearance; they will be adding a new affront to the United States by making more open and obvious than ever the cool German disregard of American protests.

There is no way to know at present whether Germany's purpose in doing this is merely to raise the spirits of the German people at a time when the fortunes of the

war are evidently going against them; or to make a real effort by a renewal of her most ruthless methods to impair the British prestige at sea and cut off in a measure British supplies; or to take a position from which she can recede at a price which the United States will be called upon to pay by some new humiliation.

Whatever Germany's purpose may be, the real question with the American people is whether this country is too feeble or too inert to offer any actual and effectual resistance; and, if it is too feeble and too inert, whether this people will rouse themselves to secure a government strong enough and active enough to make resistance, in the name and for the sake, not only of the American people, but of civilization.

SHALL WE ABOLISH THE DEATH PENALTY?

The article on another page entitled "A Function of State" is not agreeable reading. But it is profitable reading. For the citizens of a democratic state never ought to forget that they are responsible for whatever is done in their name and by their authority. The condemned were executed in the name and by the authority of the people of the State of New York. The people are therefore responsible for the execution. We accept our share of that responsibility, and present to our readers our understanding of the question which that responsibility inevitably raises.

We do not agree with the statement which Mr. White quotes from Mr. Osborne, that the taking of human life is always a sin. The state has a right to do whatever is necessary to protect the lives and property of its citizens. This is not only its right, but its duty; and this duty is to be performed, however painful it may be to tender hearts. If a mob attacks peaceful citizens traveling in a train or a trolley car, it is the duty of the police to disperse the mob and protect the citizens, and, if necessary for this purpose, to shoot, and shoot to kill. If Mexican raiders invade Texas, destroy property, and kill American citizens, it is the duty of the Nation to send soldiers to protect the citizens, and, if necessary, to shoot and kill the assailants. The fact that the loyal policeman or the loyal soldier hazards his life does not make this any less a duty. If it is right to hazard the

life of a loyal guardian to protect the lives of citizens, it is not wrong to take the life of a condemned murderer if peaceable citizens cannot otherwise be adequately protected.

Is capital punishment necessary for the protection of peaceful citizens? If necessary, capital punishment is right. If not necessary, capital punishment is wrong.

The incidents which our correspondent gives of murders perpetrated by gunmen notwithstanding the execution of Becker demonstrate that capital punishment is not a complete protection of peaceful citizens. They do not demonstrate that capital punishment is not necessary for that protection. The execution of Becker has not put an end to murder. No one supposed it would. But there is good reason to believe that his execution has effectively aided the Police Commissioner in putting into the police of New York City a new spirit and making of it a new force.

This it has not done by the deterrent power of fear. The execution of Becker revealed in the generally apathetic people of New York a stern resolve that an officer appointed to protect citizens should not use his power to murder citizens and go unpunished. It appealed not merely, not mainly, to fear; it appealed to the conscience. It was more effectual in awakening in certain classes, perhaps in all classes, an indignation against certain forms of wrong-doing than either sermons or editorials ever could have awakened. It compelled them to perceive the baseness of an act and of a moral attitude which before they had not thought of as base. It spoke louder than words. The value of capital punishment lies in the fact that it is the deliberate judgment of the community that man may commit a crime so monstrous that he is no longer worthy to live.

The precept, "Abhor that which is evil," appeals to the universal conscience. All manly men do abhor that which they see to be evil. That abhorrence will and must find some expression proportioned to the public estimate of the crime committed. When a mob hangs a man guilty of criminal assault upon a woman, the wrath which inspires them is evil, because it is an unregulated and uncontrolled wrath. But it indicates a moral sense superior to apathy and indifference. Mobs execute capital punishment because they can act promptly, while the courts act sluggishly or not at all.

To abolish capital punishment and leave the murderers of men and the violators of women to go unpunished or inadequately punished would be either to lower the moral tone of the community or to substitute private for public penalty.

Whether to-day in the State of New York capital punishment is necessary to protect the lives of its peaceable citizens is a fair question for discussion. We do not here discuss it. But the question must be determined by the reason and the conscience, not by sentiment and not by the false assumption that all killing of men is wicked. In our judgment, there are other reforms in dealing with criminals which should take precedence of the abolition of the death penalty. Among these reforms are the abolition of what is popularly called "the third degree," provision for more prompt decision by the courts in all criminal cases, and such a modification of the law as will leave the punishment of a convicted murderer to be determined by a tribunal appointed to decide whether his guilt calls for the extremest penalty of the law. Not all murders involve such guilt, not all murderers have proved themselves by their crime unworthy to live.

"IT IS" VERSUS "IT MAY BE"

The following letter from a citizen of Utah is typical of many which we have received:

As a consistent reader of your periodical and a progressive Republican, it is going to be very hard to vote for President Wilson this fall; but I am told by men who should know that Judge Hughes is catering to the German vote. If this is true, no patriotic American can vote for him.

If not too much trouble, would you give me your views on this matter?

It is quite true that most, if not all, of the so-called German-American newspapers in this country are opposing the election of President Wilson and supporting Mr. Hughes. It is also true that the "Courrier des Etats Unis," the well-edited French daily newspaper of New York City, is supporting Mr. Wilson and opposing Mr. Hughes. The Outlook's sympathies are against Germany and with France in the European war, yet we hope that Mr. Wilson will be defeated and that Mr. Hughes will be elected. On its face this situation is perplexing, to say the least, and we do not wonder that our correspondents are more or less confused. Neverthe-

less, we think it is susceptible of a clear and, to us at least, convincing explanation.

The pro-Germans in this country at the beginning of the war were passionately eager to have this Nation and this Government take sides with Germany. They supported an active German propaganda. Mr. Wilson from the beginning has advocated a passive, if not a colorless, neutrality. He urged the American people to be neutral not only in act but in thought. He told the great convention in Philadelphia called by the League to Enforce Peace that this country is not concerned in the causes or sources of the war. This spirit of passive neutrality created in the pro-Germans a deep feeling of irritation, because it was in conflict with their own passionate longings.

When the Lusitania was torpedoed, the pro-Germans in this country hailed the act as a heroic and splendid achievement. Mr. Wilson has written a series of notes in which he seems to thousands of Americans to have taken the ground that it was a mistake which Germany ought to apologize for and for which she could atone by a mere disavowal. He has satisfied neither the pro-Germans nor the anti-Germans. In a word, Mr. Wilson has shared the fate of most passive neutrals in the great catastrophic conflict. It is an inviolable law of human nature, demonstrated over and over again in history, that the participants in such a conflict always regard those who are not for them as being against them. Mr. Wilson has been apparently for nobody—neither the French, nor the Germans, nor the Americans who lost their lives on the Lusitania. This, we think, gives the psychological explanation of the fact that so many conflicting groups in this country unite in one thing—that is to say, their opposition to the course of the President. The Germans distrust him, the French distrust him, and the Americans who have been stirred to their depths by the murder of their fellow-citizens on the high seas distrust him.

While there are indications that the leaders of the pro-German party in the United States are supporting Mr. Hughes, there is not a scintilla of evidence that he has solicited that support or that he is catering to it. He has said publicly in his speeches that if elected President he will do everything in his power to protect the lives of American citizens at home and abroad. He has referred to the sinking of the Lusitania as ruthless. Two of his most notable supporters,

Elihu Root and Theodore Roosevelt, have been outspoken in their denunciation of the violation of Belgium and the ruthless submarine warfare of Germany, and Mr. Hughes has publicly approved of what they have said. We cannot deny that we wish that he had been still more outspoken, that he had devoted in his campaign speeches as much time and vigor to the European question as he has to the Mexican problem and to the industrial and economic questions of our domestic life. But, to use President Cleveland's phrase, it is "a condition and not a theory which confronts us" in the present campaign.

The country knows Mr. Wilson's record during two years of the war. His policy has been expressed by one of his supporters, ex-President Eliot, of Harvard College, in the following sentence: "America has now turned its back on the familiar policy of Rome and Great Britain of protecting or avenging their wandering citizens by force of arms, and has set up quite a different policy of her own"—which appears to us to be a policy of passive and vacillating neutrality. The pro-German party in the United States are opposed to this passive neutrality because it is not pro-German, and they are turning to Mr. Hughes, their only alternative, because they are willing to "take a chance;" because they know what Mr. Wilson's policy is, and they have a mistaken hope that Mr. Hughes's

policy may be more pro-German and therefore preferable.

We admit frankly that the pro-German support of Mr. Hughes is distasteful to The Outlook. We are so radically opposed to *Schrecklichkeit*, to *Machtpolitik*, to Prussian ideals, to Prussian methods of warfare, and to the Prussian political propaganda which has existed in the United States during the past two years—we believe that this is all so inimical to the principles of democratic freedom in which this country was founded that we regret to have such men as our correspondent feel that Mr. Hughes is yielding in any degree to the Prussian pressure.

But this regret does not in the slightest diminish our support of Mr. Hughes's candidacy. If Mr. Wilson is re-elected, we know what to expect during the next four years. If Mr. Hughes is elected, it is reasonable to expect from his record as an American executive and as an American judge and from his campaign speeches that he will not be a neutral President but an American President. He certainly cannot be less satisfactory than President Wilson in this respect, and he has every opportunity of being very much more satisfactory. We ask our correspondent if, even following the not very inspiring doctrine of chances, it is not wiser to vote for the policy of Mr. Hughes as it may be rather than the policy of President Wilson as it is.

THE MIDDLE WEST AND THE SUBMARINE WAR OFF OUR COAST

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

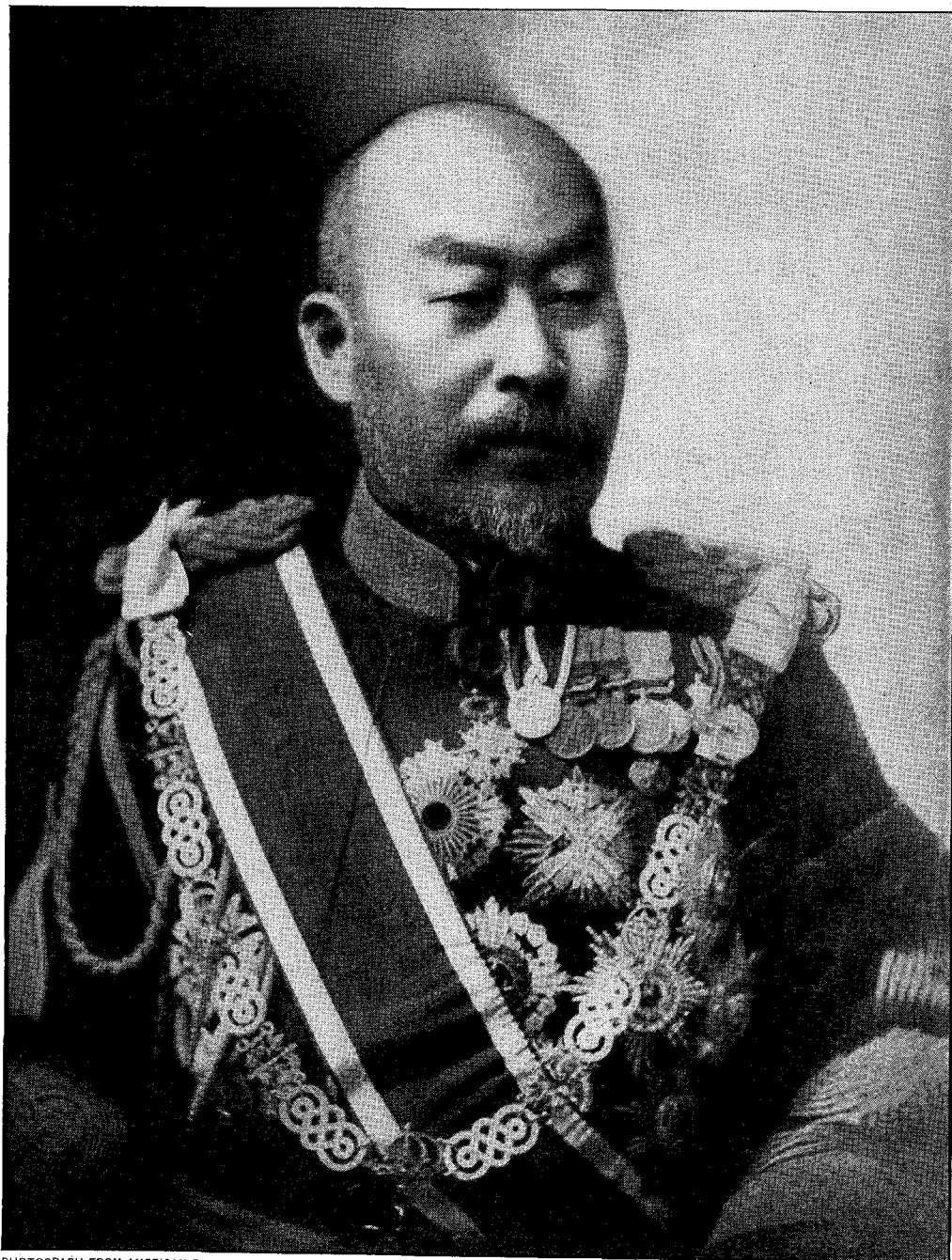
We print below two telegraphic despatches received in response to The Outlook's request for reports of the reception in the Middle West of the news of the submarine raid on neutral and other merchant vessels close to our coast and by a war-vessel which had just left an American port. The first is from the "Milwaukee Journal," of which Mr. L. W. Nieman is editor, the second from Mr. H. J. Haskell, of the Kansas City "Star." Both these journals are representative and able and in a position to reflect public sentiment truly, and the writers of the despatches are trained and capable newspaper men.—THE EDITORS.

Most persons are reluctant to talk. Those who do are apprehensive. They do not see how this can go on long without the gravest consequences. This sentiment is well expressed by the Rev. Dr. Paul B. Jenkins, who says: "It seems particularly repellent to have the European war brought to our threshold. The American mind will never be reconciled to forms of warfare involving the gravest danger to unarmed non-combatants."

Extreme pro-German sentiment is represented by two newspapers. The "Free Press" editorially acclaims the feat as "the forerunner of world deliverance from British sea tyranny." It prophesies that "if these German super-submarines can approximate what the U-53 has done on her first day at the job the British Government will soon be forced to sue for peace." The "Germanic

(Continued on page following illustrations)

Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH FROM AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

THE NEW JAPANESE PREMIER, COUNT TERAUCHI

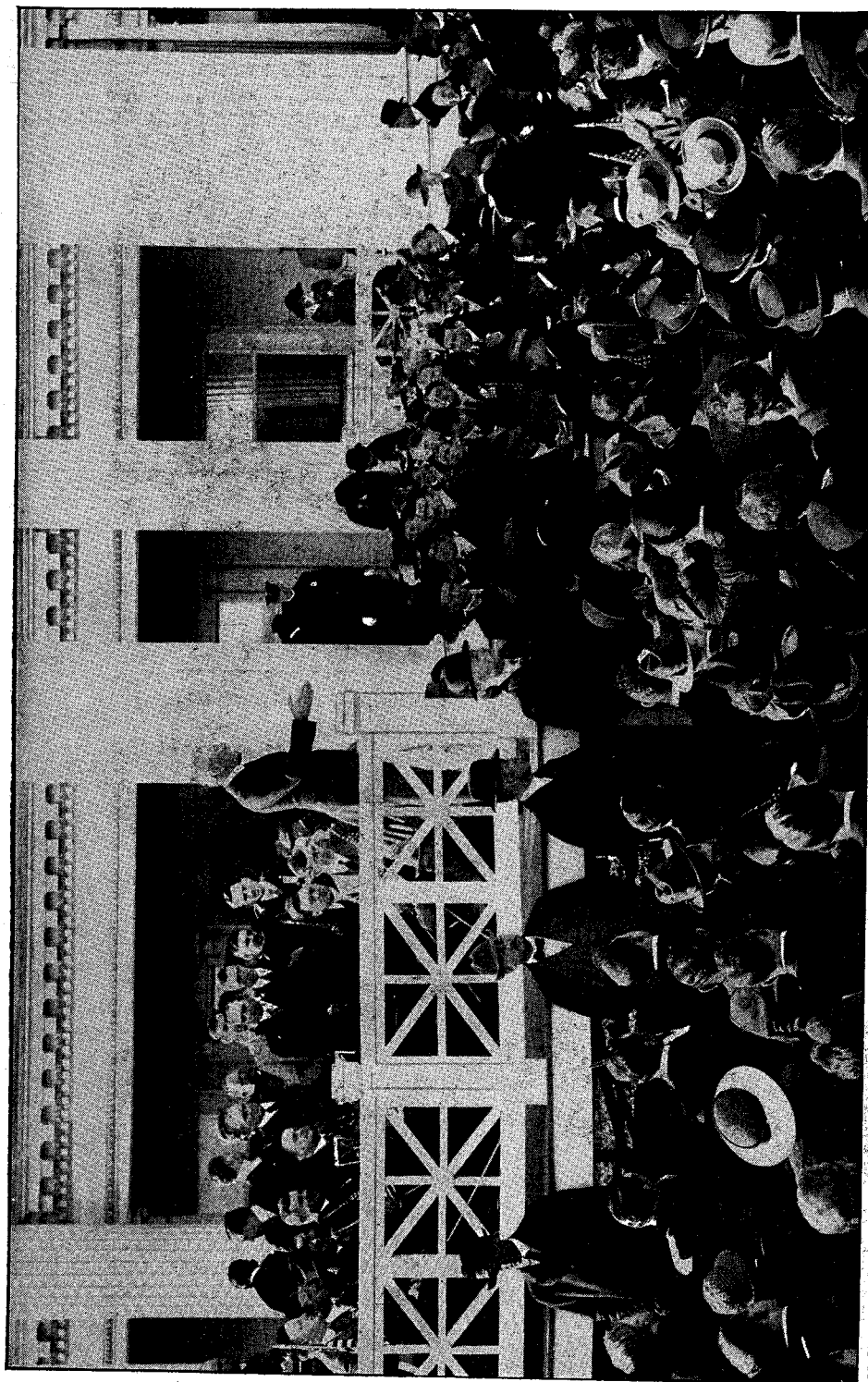
The new head of the Japanese Cabinet is essentially a military man, having been Director of the Military Academy, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, Minister of War, and Governor-General of Korea. He is sixty-four years old. See editorial comment



PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL THOMPSON

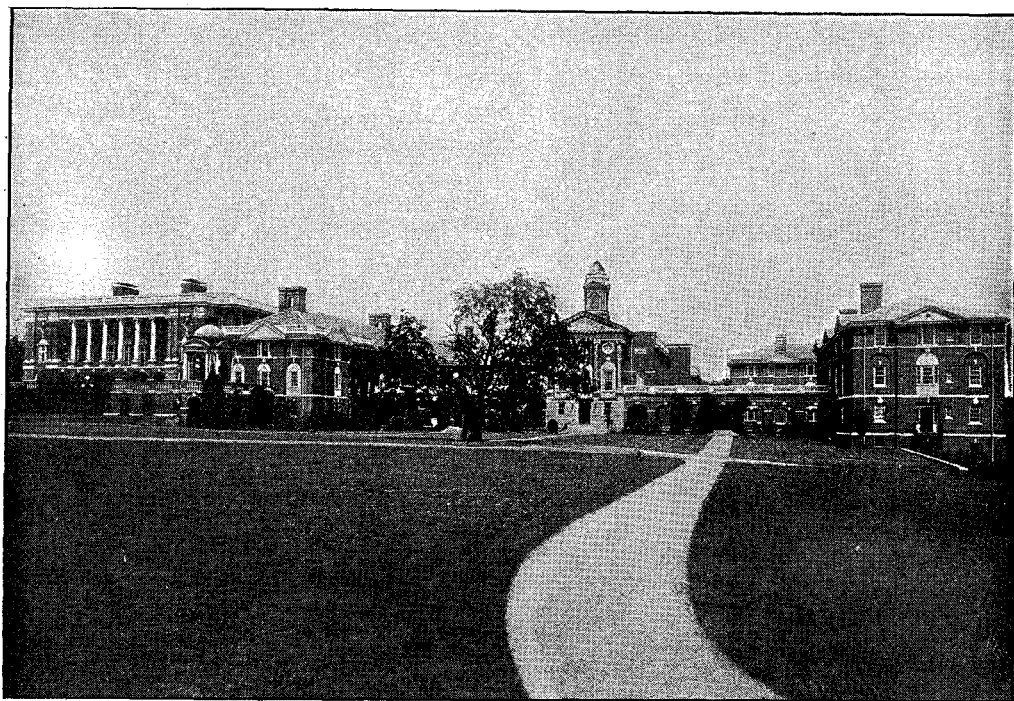
THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT AT THE
LATTER'S HOME IN INDIANAPOLIS

From left to right: Mrs. C. W. Fairbanks, Jr., Mrs. Timmins (daughter of Mr. Fairbanks), Mr. Hughes, Mrs. Hughes, and Mr. Fairbanks. The party were photographed as they were on their way to church



COPYRIGHT BY UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD

PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING THE YOUNG MEN'S DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE AT
HIS SUMMER HOME, SHADOW LAWN



SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE, VIRGINIA



THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

A SOUTHERN COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

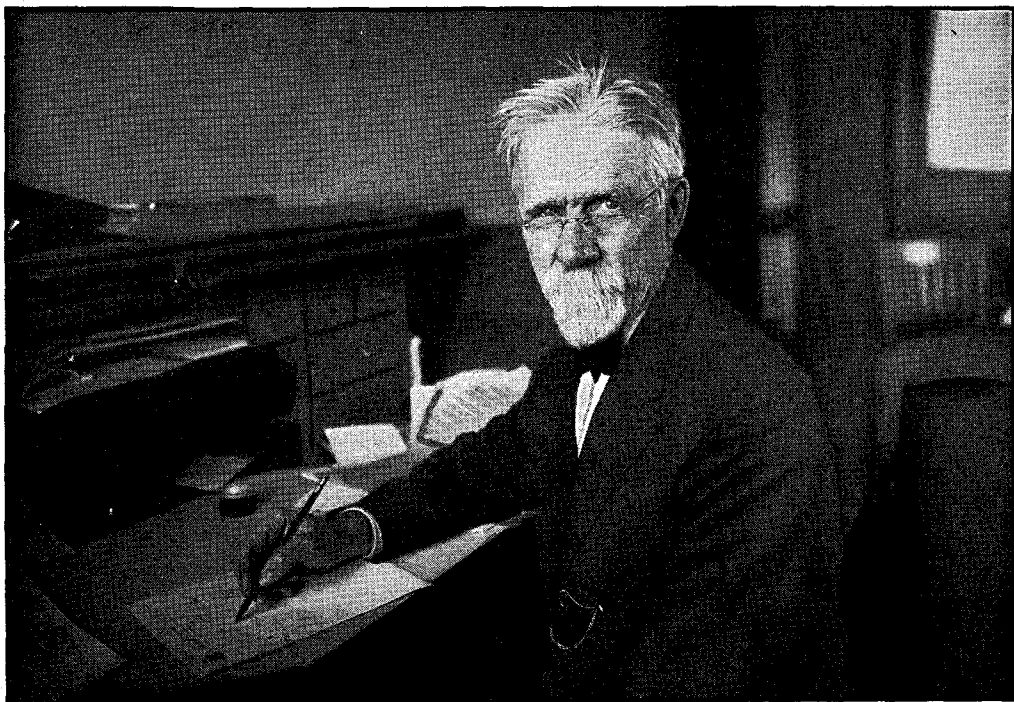
See article on another page describing



PHOTOGRAPH BY SOMERS

MISS EMILIE WATTS McVEA
THE NEW PRESIDENT OF SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE, VIRGINIA

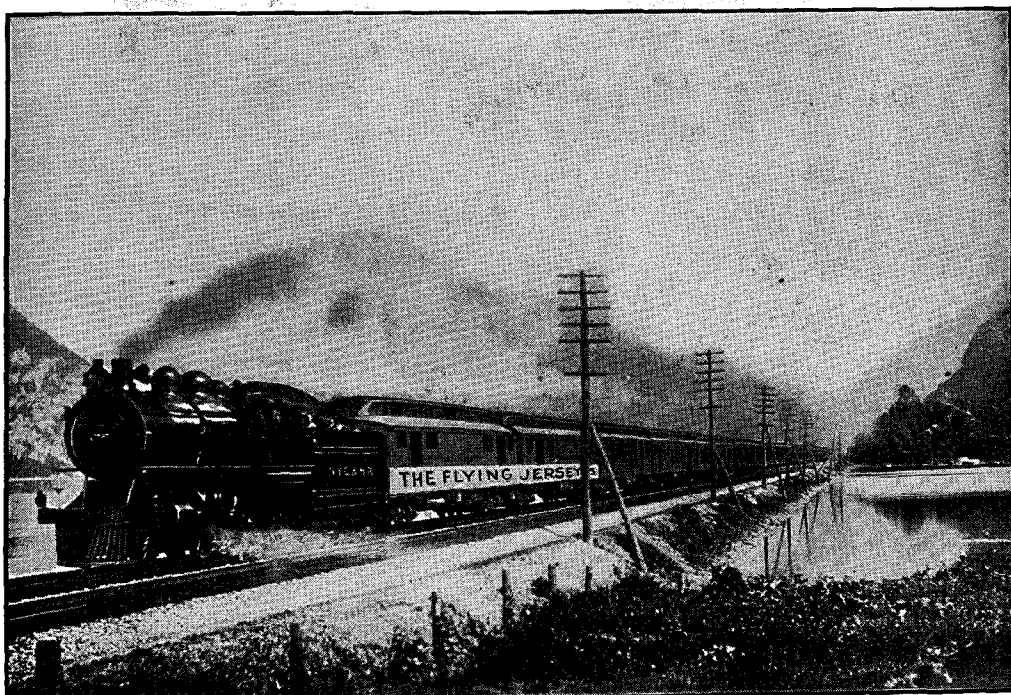
AND ITS NEW PRESIDENT
this important educational institution



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PRESS ILLUSTRATING SERVICE

JOHN J. DILLON, COMMISSIONER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOOD AND MARKETS OF NEW YORK

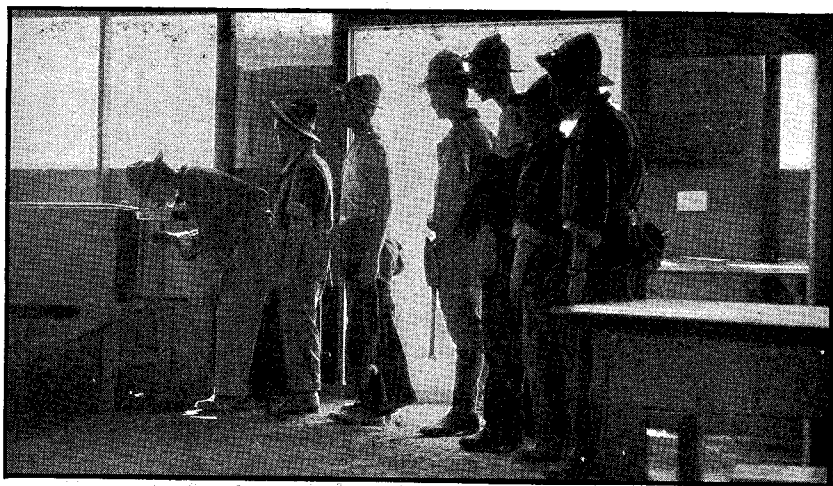
Mr. Dillon's endeavors to settle the controversy between milk producers and distributors in New York, with due regard to the interests of the farmer and the consumer as well as of the great companies, have attracted Nation-wide attention. See editorial comment



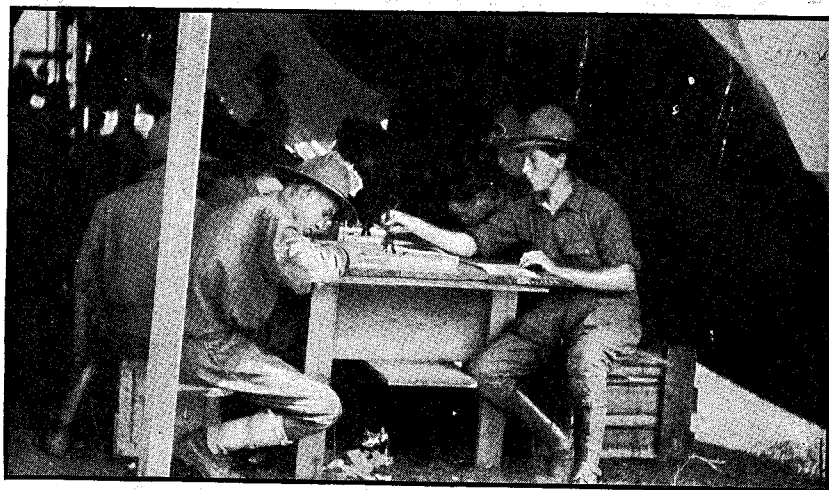
PHOTOGRAPH FROM AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

A GREAT EXHIBITION OF PRIZE CATTLE

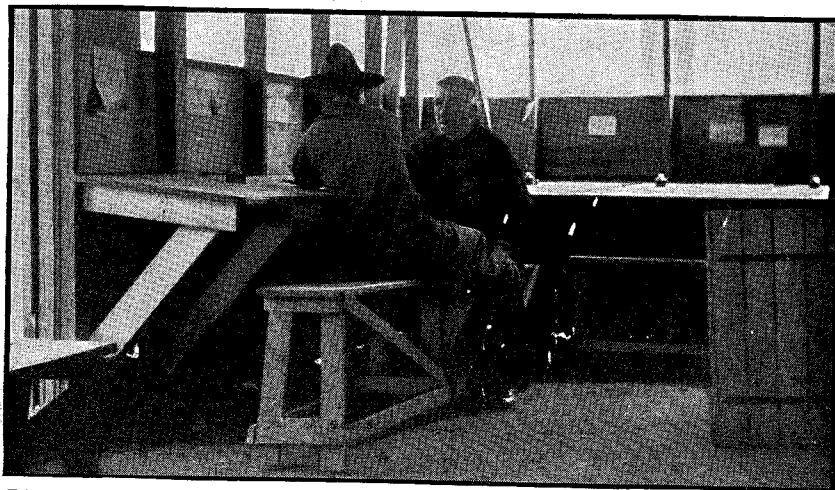
This train of prize Jersey cattle contains 168 bulls and cows, the show herds of ten prominent exhibitors at the National Dairy Congress Show at Waterloo, Iowa. They are being transported to the National Dairy Show at Springfield, Massachusetts. The train will make three stops—at Indianapolis, Columbus, Ohio, and Utica, New York—for exhibition purposes. The cattle on the train are, it is estimated, worth \$250,000



A DRINKING FOUNTAIN OF THE Y. M. C. A. AT LAREDO, TEXAS



SOLDIERS WRITING IN A TEMPORARY TENT OF THE Y. M. C. A. AT LEON SPRINGS, TEXAS



FATHER HARVEY, OF THE ORDER OF THE HOLY CROSS OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TALKING WITH A SOLDIER IN THE ARMY Y. M. C. A. AT LAREDO, TEXAS
WORK OF THE ARMY AND NAVY DEPARTMENT OF THE
Y. M. C. A. ON THE MEXICAN BORDER



PHOTOGRAPH BY INTERNATIONAL FILM SERVICE

THE LORD BISHOP OF WORCESTER, ENGLAND, ON A VISIT TO AMERICA

The Rt. Rev. Huyshe Wolcott Yeatman-Biggs, Lord Bishop of Worcester, whose portrait appears above, comes to this country as one of two bishops to represent the Church of England at the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church at St. Louis. See editorial comment

Herald" argues that international law permits submarines to visit American ports to take on sufficient provisions for their homeward voyage "and to reduce the number of hostile merchantmen both on their in and out voyages." It adds: "We confidently hope that in the future it will make exceedingly effective use of this right."

Among second-generation German-Americans admiration for the audacity of the feat and its success is modified by apprehension of unpleasant consequences for this country. They dislike having the war brought to our doors; they resent the seeming blockade of American commerce. They fear that some mistake or rashness may revive the whole submarine controversy in aggravated form.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
October 10, 1916.

Admiration for the brilliancy of Germany's exploit in operating armed submarines so far from home, rather than resentment over a possible blockade of the American coast or apprehension of breaking off diplomatic relations, is the prevailing note in Middle Western comment in the two days immediately following the U-boat raids. The incident is considered as a spectacular affair that is not

likely to have any real effect in interfering with commerce.

Newspapers are pointing out that, if a submarine campaign could not be waged successfully in the North Sea, it certainly could not be waged four thousand miles from home. It is noted with relief that in the submarine operations so far reported there is evidence of an attempt to comply with the requirements of international law.

The possibilities of a blockade are hardly seriously considered, for the Middle West is so far from the ocean that it is not so keenly sensitive as the coast to the war on the sea. Undoubtedly, if the submarine operations should begin to affect the price of wheat the country's granary would be less placid. It is recognized that there is "dynamite" in the situation, yet there is no evidence of grave apprehension.

It is not to be inferred that the Middle West is not interested. The novel development of submarine warfare is everywhere the topic of conversation. But as yet there is no indication in the comment of Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Lincoln, or Des Moines newspapers of any tense anxiety.

Kansas City, Missouri,
October 10, 1916.

H. J. HASKELL.

THE NANTUCKET SUBMARINE WARFARE

A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

ON October 8, within a radius of thirty miles of the Nantucket lightship, unarmed merchant vessels were sent to the bottom by one or more German submarines. When Americans recovered from the shock of this news, they began to inquire, "What will the Hughes papers have to say?" and "What will the Wilson papers reply?" or "What will the German-American press say?" and "What shall we hear from the foreign press?"

THE HUGHES PAPERS

"A submarine sinking liners at our harbor mouths is very much like a thug who should stand at a store door with a bludgeon to attack all citizens who did their trading there." So remarks the Rochester "Post-Express." It adds: "Somehow it seems a little bit too personal in its invidiousness towards us."

"It is a mad act, an act of desperation.

In dire straits on land, it looks like a despairing attempt on the part of Germany to do something, goodness knows what." So declares the New York "Telegram."

These two quotations may be taken from the many expressions of disgust and resentment of the papers supporting Mr. Hughes in the present campaign. But they are not satisfied with this. Some of them see dangerous possibilities, as for instance the Syracuse "Post-Standard," which says:

If by mistake the commander should attack a liner or a freighter whose right to traverse our waters without molestation is undisputed, there would be an end to the patience of the American people.

Many Hughes papers also point out that we are, in some degree at least, responsible for the event. As to the judicial branch of the Government, the Newark "News" affirms that "such destruction as the German

U-boats have wrought, both of neutral and belligerent ships, has been encouraged by the United States District Court decision in the case of the Appam." This was the case in which the court decided that a German prize crew could not bring a prize to our ports. The alternative, of course, for a German submarine is "the release of the prize or its destruction."

Many more papers, however, bring the responsibility straight home to the executive department of the Government. The New York "Herald," for instance, asserts:

The impertinence of Prussianism in sending one of its engines of "frightfulness" into a port of the United States . . . and going immediately from that port to its mission of warfare in American waters, . . . what else are these but the legitimate proofs of the [American Government's] policy of "blowing hot" at the wrong time and "blowing cold" when events demanded action that has marked the handling of our relations with Berlin from the day that Count von Bernstorff revealed his guilty foreknowledge of the dreadful crime which was to be perpetrated against American citizens and against America in the ruthless sinking of the Lusitania?

Republican papers are unanimous, not only in condemning President Wilson's policy and in resolving to supplant his Administration by one under Mr. Hughes; they are also unanimous in discerning that the lesson for America is the creation of an adequate navy. For instance, the New York "Tribune" says:

The new transatlantic U-boat campaign gives plain notice that the theory of American inaccessibility to European attack has been completely exploded. Our coast and our coast-wise commerce will be an easy mark in war time to European raiders unless we create a navy with sufficient resources to patrol and defend our own waters.

And the Chicago "Tribune":

We have witnessed another striking demonstration of the contraction of the world through the inventive genius of men and received an ominous reminder of the folly of our pacifist theorists who tell us the oceans are our defense. On the contrary, they are the open roadway of armed aggression.

The Buffalo "News" concludes thus:

Germany has brought the war to our own dooryard. . . . She has, with a remarkable exhibition of seamanship, shown her contempt for the United States and thumbed her nose at a Government that has shown neither red blood nor backbone.

THE WILSON PAPERS

An able apologist for the Wilson Administration is the Brooklyn "Citizen." It aptly asserts:

If it is conceded that the raider is within his international rights in sinking British ships, it does not follow that he has an equal right or any right to sink neutral vessels.

Again:

It is a separate question whether he can be permitted to carry on his operations in a form that amounts to a full blockade of our ports, this being involved in the holding up of ships under the American flag, and that, too, in their passage from one American port to another.

On the other hand, "to call these submarine operations a blockade of American ports is silly," replies another Democratic paper, the New York "World," and continues:

German war-ships have the same right as British war-ships in the western Atlantic, and since the beginning of the war British cruisers have hovered off Sandy Hook to prevent the German merchant ships in New York harbor from making a dash to the sea. Had these merchant ships put to sea, it would have been lawful for the British cruisers to sink them as soon as they passed the three-mile limit, and the same rights adhere to German submarines operating in these waters against British commerce. There is one law for both of them.

Still another New York City Wilson supporter, the "Times," places in close juxtaposition these two sentences which reveal a faith based evidently on something else than experience:

The murder of the hundred Americans who went down with the Lusitania has never been atoned for. . . . The people know that they can trust President Wilson to safeguard the rights and the interests of the country prudently and wisely but firmly.

In the same spirit the Springfield "Republican" voices confidence in the President, and concludes that "this foray of the German U-boat off our coast is a sporadic yet daringly conceived and brilliantly conducted exploit which matches well several other adventurous deeds in the war which have brought fame to the German navy."

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS

Among the prominent German-American papers in the United States are the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" and "The New Yorker Herold." The first asserts that the "Times," "Herald," and other Germanophobe papers are merely mouthpieces of the

leaders of high finance and war industries, which have already demanded in their chagrin why the Government allows an interruption of those industries with the Allies.

And the "New Yorker Staats-Zeitung" comments similarly:

We have not heard from any one that the Germans in their U-boat campaign on the American coast conducted themselves other than in strict compliance with international law. . . . Even such a bitter opponent of Germany as Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, admits that "the Germans were strictly within their rights." . . . But munitions have grown to be so much a part of America as to make Americans affected in their life nerves should their source of supply stop earlier than does the war which has created that supply. . . . No law is broken. Every promise is scrupulously kept. But his Majesty, Munition, is wounded—that's all.

THE FOREIGN PRESS

Chief among German papers in point of influence stands the "Berliner Tageblatt," and an article by Captain Persius, perhaps the leading naval critic in Germany, is worth quoting in this connection. According to a broad hint in that article, German submarines are now hunting in pairs. Captain Persius indicates that, despite adherence to the request of the American Government to a restriction of submarine warfare, the continued activities of German undersea craft and the large number of Allied merchant vessels sunk by them show an increase in the U-boat supply. The writer says:

Of late, as our Government has obligated itself first of all to observe the regular rules of international custom existing before the war also in the conduct of the submarine trade war, the question arose as to how it would be possible for our submarine commanders to carry on

a successful trade war, on the one hand, and not to overstep the boundaries laid down by the rules for cruiser warfare, on the other. That both of these demands may be met by the exercise of great skill has already been demonstrated . . . during the last few months. . . . We may feel certain that, despite the bonds laid upon our submarines, their effectiveness will continue to increase in the future as it has done in the past.

In France a corresponding position to that of the "Berliner Tageblatt" in Germany is occupied by the Paris "Temps." Its comment on the Nantucket affair is interesting because of two things. The first is its suspicion that, "if it is true that the U-53 left Newport without taking on a supply of oil, the question may be asked immediately, Where did the submarine get or where will it get the combustible to return to Germany?" The second suggestion is that "Germany may be seeking through the Nantucket affair to give satisfaction to the Pan-Germanists, who were demanding a ruthless submarine war and new instances of intimidation."

In England newspapers also assume this conclusion; for instance, the London "Morning Post" thinks the German raid "devised for the purpose of inflicting a gratifying loss on shipping generally, and also to serve the political purpose of cheering and enlivening the German public."

Finally, the English papers do not fail to point out the gallant action of our navy. For instance, the London "Daily Mail":

If wholesale murder was not permitted almost within range of American guns, it was owing to the action of the United States destroyers, which saved hundreds of lives. That the American seamen showed the greatest energy and efficiency in aiding passengers and crews will not surprise the people of this country who know the United States navy as a great service with splendid traditions.

THE NEW JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER

ON another page there appears a portrait of Field Marshal Count Terauchi, who has accepted the Premiership of Japan, offered to him by the Emperor on the resignation of Count Okuma.

There are few Japanese who have had more interesting and distinguished careers than has Count Terauchi. He is rugged and striking in appearance and bearing. He is sixty-four years old, and was born in the pre-

fecture of Yamaguchi. He is a Samurai—that is to say, he is one of the privileged "two-sword fighting men," who acquired this name during the feudal period. When, in 1871, the feudal system was abolished, the practice of wearing swords was prohibited, and in 1878 the very name *Samurai* was changed to *Shizoku*, meaning gentry. Nevertheless, the pride of clan persists, and Count Terauchi belongs to the famous

Choshu clan, which produced Prince Yamagata, the late Prince Ito, and many others of note.

In 1871 young Terauchi entered the army and quickly rose through the various grades. In the civil war of 1878 he was wounded in the right arm and its free use was permanently lost. For some years he was attaché to the Legation at Paris, and on his return was made adjutant and private secretary to the War Minister. He became in succession Director of the Military Academy, Chief of Staff of the First Army Division, Director of the First Bureau of the General Staff Office, Commander of the Third Army Brigade, Superintendent of Military Education, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, and War Minister in the Katsura Cabinet of 1902, holding that post throughout the war with Russia, and giving evidence of high organizing power. It was natural, therefore, that when Korea was annexed he should be chosen as one well qualified to handle the difficult situation there, without gloves if necessary, and always with administrative power.

The record of his work as Governor-General includes the spread of agricultural knowledge, the reforestation of the hills, the encouragement of manufacture, the opening of mines, the making of roads, the extension of railways, the improvement of harbors, and the erection of schools. Though he is Japan's dominating military figure, he values more highly, so we are told, these betterings of conditions in Korea than anything he has won as a soldier. Indeed, this would be borne out by an interview which he gave on October 10 to the Associated Press; in it he said: "Because I am a successful soldier, shall that prevent my being a prudent minister of state? Say it, repeat it, that I come as a statesman who is seeking the lasting interests of my people, not as a militarist seeking glorification by the sword."

The differences between General Terauchi and Marquis Okuma are two. First, Count Terauchi has been regarded as a representative of old Japan, as a Samurai of the old exacting martinet order, one who represents personal government, the kind of high-minded but restricted government which the Elder Statesmen like Prince Yamagata, for example, would exercise. On the other hand, the retiring Premier represents new Japan, popular government, party government, and is the natural head of those Japanese—and they are increasing in number—who believe that

no Prime Minister ought to rule without a majority in the Diet. Prince Katsura, when Premier, thought that he could rule without a majority behind him, and said so, but some weeks later his Ministry had to fall just because the legislative body did not support him. In the House of Peers, the upper house of the Japanese Parliament, Count Terauchi will be measurably certain of support; as to the lower house, there will probably be greater opposition.

This opposition will doubtless come, not only because he does not represent popular government, but also because he is supposed to emphasize the importance of a vigorous foreign policy. It has been expected that the new Premier's first thought will concern itself with the building up of Japan as a Power among nations, as contrasted with the first thought of the retiring Premier, which was judged to have been centered on the development of Japan's domestic resources and the improvement of Japanese internal conditions.

Popular supposition as to a "forward" foreign policy has been accentuated, first by the recall of Baron Motono, Japanese Ambassador to Russia, to become the new Foreign Minister, thus suggesting a more thorough understanding between Russia and Japan than was emphasized by the Russo-Japanese Treaty, ratified last summer. Secondly, the rumor that Baron Sakatani, formerly Minister of Finance and now in this country, would become a member of the Cabinet, also indicates a "forward" policy, for we recall his statement, in an interview the other day, that "justice and necessity will require that the status of Japanese in the United States be settled at the close of the European war."

Concerning this the Japanese Embassy at Washington informs The Outlook that, as to Japanese immigration into this country, Japan has for the present nothing whatever to negotiate about it, for what is generally known as the "gentlemen's agreement" is being observed to the satisfaction of the two countries, that any objectionable section in the proposed Immigration Bill before Congress has been deleted, and that the California Land Law controversy may be said to be in abeyance; but it disclaims any knowledge as to whether or not Japan will renew her protests in this matter at the end of the European war.

While it has been the fashion for some Japanese and many American papers to

speak of General Terauchi as a jingoist, there is no record, so far as we know, which would indicate that he is a jingoist toward America. He was first brought into close contact some years ago with Americans at the time when 123 Koreans were accused of complicity in a plot to take his life. As American missionary interests are particularly in evidence in Korea and as nearly all the accused were Christians, it was feared that there might be both an anti-American and an anti-Christian spirit shown in the trial. Though the trial was conducted in a way to elicit sharp criticism, those who were well informed were confident that there would be no attempt in Korea to persecute Christians in general or Americans in particular. This conviction was justified. The prisoners were ultimately all liberated except six, and the Emperor, by an act of Imperial clemency, freed the remainder. It is interesting to note that in the interview above mentioned (that of October 10) the Premier declares that he will undertake no new steps in regard to so-called American problems, including immigration, but will closely follow the policies of the outgoing Cabinet.

As to China, Count Terauchi said: "Japan's ambition is to have China benefited, like Japan, from the fruits of the world's civilization and world progress. The Japanese and Chinese people have sprung from the same stock. Our future destiny is a common destiny that is historically involved." Though he was unable to dwell on a detailed programme, the Premier continued, he could affirm that America's interests in China would be harmed in no wise by Japan, which had no

intention of violating China's sovereignty or preventing interested nations from having equal opportunities. "People talk of closing the door," he added. "That is a complete *non possumus*. As long as Japan's vital interests and dignity are not infringed [this phrase leaves room for a great range of interpretation], Japan will take no aggressive step against any nation, especially America."

So far from being caused by Japanese foreign policy, whether regarding China or America, the change of Ministry, in the opinion of such an authority as Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga, of the East and West News Bureau, has been caused rather by domestic politics. Dr. Iyenaga writes to *The Outlook* that, in his opinion, Japanese foreign policy will undergo no change by whatever Cabinet may be formed, for Japan has one definite foreign policy, namely, the maintenance both of her rights among nations and of amicable relations with all. This policy, inaugurated by the late Emperor, says Dr. Iyenaga, "has been handed down to his successor, and will be followed with success, I am sure, by the present Emperor."

The actual matter in hand for Japan was well defined by the new Premier in the interview above mentioned as follows: "The Empire faces a situation which demands strenuous and unified exertions to secure reforms of the national life, to nourish the strength of her resources, and to place the nation on an unshakable foundation of secure and lasting peace in the Far East. . . . Not revolutionary, not aggressive, not militaristic, but constructive—that is my programme," concluded the Premier.

A LEADER OF WOMEN

MISS EMILIE WATTS McVEA, who has recently accepted the presidency of Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia, brings to her new position unusual qualifications for the leadership of this institution. A Southern woman herself, and receiving her education chiefly in that section of the country, her interests have always been in promoting in every way the educational opportunities of the young woman of the South; and she has been actively associated with the Southern Association of College Women in attempting to further this cause. But it is as Dean of Women at the

University of Cincinnati that Miss McVea's work is best known. For twelve years she was associated with this municipal university, first as Assistant Professor of English, and later in the additional capacity of Dean of Women. As Professor S. Gale Lowrie, of the Department of Political Science at the University of Cincinnati (to whom we are indebted for our information concerning Miss McVea), says, to this position of Dean of Women at the University she brought rare gifts of leadership and a most charming personality, which enabled her to exert an influence and serve the University

and the community as it is the privilege of few women to do.

It has not been the policy of this institution to maintain a scholastic life apart from the world. It has tried to train for life by being a part of life, and has maintained a policy of aiding and encouraging every movement looking toward civic betterment. To this work Miss McVea devoted her unusual energy. She found time not only for her university work, exacting as it was in her double rôle of teacher of English and Dean of Women, but also responded generously to the incessant demands for extra-mural lectures and talks. She was in every sense a citizen of the community. Just prior to her departure from Cincinnati the organizations to which Miss McVea had belonged during her twelve years' sojourn in the city planned a unique testimonial to her services and fellowship. Twenty-seven organizations with which she had been intimately associated joined in an expression of appreciation of what her life among them had meant. Few women have called forth the tributes accorded that evening to the new President of Sweet Briar College.

One's work is guided by one's philosophy. Miss McVea's work for the women students of the University of Cincinnati was directed by her conception of the position these women would be later called upon to fill. She believes this to be a man's and a woman's world, and that woman must have a share in its work. To this end she sought to make it possible for the young women of Cincinnati, not only to avail themselves of the cultural educational courses already offered them at the University, but also to have further fields open to them, that they might enter new vocations.

To fit the University, which is maintained at city expense, to render this service a new Woman's Building was imperative. Rest and recreation rooms for all women students were urgently needed, as well as laboratory equipment for the teaching of the household and domestic arts. It was due to the earnest and tireless efforts of Dean McVea that the City Council was prevailed upon to issue bonds for the erection of such a building. The handsome structure now nearing completion will stand as a monument to her work and ideals for the women students of the University of Cincinnati.

On Commencement day, in June, the University of Cincinnati conferred on Miss

McVea the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters, in appreciation of her work to advance and strengthen the institution of which she had so long been a part and in anticipation of what lies before her in her still larger field of usefulness.

Miss McVea was born in Louisiana. She was educated at St. Mary's College, Raleigh, North Carolina, where she was a teacher and afterwards principal. Later she studied at Cornell and in Washington at the Columbian University.

She taught in Washington, D.C., and was Assistant Professor of English Literature at the University of Tennessee, and went to the University of Cincinnati in 1904, where she has labored most successfully until now. Her chief characteristics are breadth of scholarship, and therefore of vision, and a big-hearted interest in all human affairs. A strong woman, a scholar, a born leader, and an excellent speaker, she has exerted a tremendous influence in the life of the city as well as in the work of the University of Cincinnati.

Sweet Briar College, to which Miss McVea goes as the new President, opened its first session just ten years ago this fall. It was founded by the will of Mrs. Indiana Fletcher Williams as a non-sectarian institution. It is in Amherst County, Virginia, about fifty miles south of Washington and twelve miles north of Lynchburg, in the Piedmont section of the State. Two views of the College appear elsewhere in this issue, together with the portrait of its new President. Its Ninth Year Book, the most recent of its catalogues, records one hundred and three students in the College proper (twenty-one of whom are special students) and ninety-nine sub-freshmen—that is, students in the preparatory department. The College at Sweet Briar is regarded by educational experts as high in rank among women's colleges, and it has grown in popularity through the South. Naturally, a large proportion of its students, particularly among the sub-freshmen, come from Southern States, but considerably over one-half in the College proper are from Northern States.

Since Vassar College opened its doors, scarcely more than half a century ago, the growth of women's colleges in this country has been one of the most distinguishing factors in educational development in America. Though young in years, therefore, such a college as Sweet Briar rising in the South makes up in present opportunities what it lacks in age.

DEMOCRATIC PROSPERITY

BY H. N. GARDNER

A REPLY TO THEODORE PRICE

PRESIDENT WILSON and his Democratic associates could ask for no better advocate than Theodore H. Price, whose extremely able article in *The Outlook* of August 23 was an argument in favor of the continuation of the present Administration—from an industrial and financial standpoint alone—which could not be surpassed.

Mr. Price presented statistics and a carefully selected array of facts which, to the ordinary mind not given to analysis, seemed to make out an incontrovertible case to prove the power of the Democratic Administration to advance prosperity.

Like most able debaters of all parties, Mr. Price, in carefully selecting the facts which he wished to present, as carefully refrained from mentioning even more important facts and statistics which would have proved the fallacy of his entire argument. He presented statistics from the Department of Commerce and Labor in which he compared the industrial condition of the country in 1916 to that of 1912, and these seemed to show that the country had waxed extremely fat industrially under the Democratic Administration. He carefully refrained, however, from presenting statistics for the years 1913, 1914, and 1915, which would have shown the terrible industrial leanness suffered by the United States for more than two-thirds of the time that the present Administration has been at the helm.

It is not the extremes from which fair judgment can be derived in any case. But to present the case fully Mr. Price should have called attention to the fact that not since the previous Democratic Administration in 1893 and 1894 has the United States experienced such extreme industrial depression as during the two years from September, 1913, to September, 1915.

That the United States industrially has experienced the most prosperous year in its history, from September 1, 1915, to September 1, 1916, cannot be disputed. Neither can it be disputed that not in twenty years has the country experienced such a bad year industrially as was the year 1914; and the worst consecutive twenty-four months in the industrial history of the past two decades

were those from September 1, 1913, to September 1, 1915.

If the Democratic Administration is entitled to the credit which it claims for the prosperity of the past twelve months, is it not just as much entitled to blame for the hard times of the preceding twenty-four?

In connection with that period of industrial depression, one fact should not be overlooked. While the manufacturing industries of the country, except in a few specially favored lines, were at their ebb during the two years mentioned, the country was favored agriculturally with good crops, which to a considerable degree offset the general depression in manufacturing centers.

Of course it is just as fair for the Democrats to take to themselves credit for the kindness of Providence and nature in the production of good crops as for the Republicans to take the same kind of credit. This the Republicans have done many times in the past. Thinking people, however, know that politicians and administrations, of either party, are not entitled to credit for agricultural prosperity or for improved conditions in those particular lines that are directly influenced by climatic and weather conditions.

Neither will any person with an analytic mind admit that any administration or party, Democratic or Republican, can justly claim credit for prosperity that comes, as has that of the United States during the past year, through extremely abnormal international conditions, in which the industrial gain of one nation is based so largely on the misfortunes and sufferings of other nations.

But, for the sake of argument, admitting to the Democrats all of the prosperity for 1916 which Mr. Price so ably presents and credit for which he so deftly applies to the present Administration, let us look at the two years immediately preceding the twelve months that have just passed. Two years for one certainly is more than a fair exchange.

The close of 1912 can be taken as a period of just about normal industrial conditions in the United States. During the ten months following the election in November, 1912, there was naturally a certain amount of industrial disturbance and business readjustment;

but that was more because of what certain business interests thought that President Wilson and his incoming Democratic associates were going to do than because of any conditions that actually existed. Accordingly, the Administration cannot in any way be blamed for what happened during those ten months.

By September, 1913, however, the new Administration had begun to show its hand; the extraordinary session of Congress had demonstrated what was to be expected in the tariff line, and industrially the country was in full swing under Democratic policies.

Not since the beginning of President Cleveland's second term has the industrial depression in this country been more marked and rapid than that which began about September 1, 1913. That this was stayed to a considerable extent by the exceptionally good agricultural conditions has already been noted; but even good crops could not fill the mouths of the families of hundreds of thousands of workless workingmen with whom the country teemed by the early months of 1914.

Even with the marked increase in the manufacture of cotton goods and other staples in the South during the past twenty years, it can still be said that fully nine-tenths of the manufacturing is done in that part of the country north of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Missouri River. It is to conditions that existed in that section of large population and factory wheels that readings must be taken from the industrial thermometer to get at the exact conditions. It would be just as fair to measure the heat of the Southern city where this is written by placing a thermometer upon the sun-scorched pavement between the heat-reflecting brick walls at the hottest time of the day as it is to measure industrial prosperity by selected facts pertaining to a short period of time, as do Mr. Price and other advocates of the Administration.

Taking the manufacturing industries in the large part of the country just mentioned as a whole, during the ten months following September 1, 1913, they had shown a falling off such as has never marked any corresponding period in the history of this country. In a few specially favored lines, just as there always must be, there were exceptions to this rule. Physicians and druggists are overworked during periods of pestilence.

During the year beginning with June 1, 1914, it was the writer's privilege to travel

widely over much of the more important manufacturing sections of the country, and to be engaged in a work that required that he should make a canvass of industrial conditions.

During the six months previous to that time President Wilson had tried in vain to make the workless workingmen believe that their troubles were simply psychological; and Secretary Redfield had gone up and down throughout the land making speeches before commercial bodies, telling his hearers of the great prosperity that abounded in spite of the silent factory wheels.

Statistics that would entirely put those of Mr. Redfield, quoted by Mr. Price, in the shade might be presented to show the number of motionless factory wheels and workless factory employees that there were in the country during the two years under consideration.

Without going into those statistics in detail, however, it can be stated that, taking manufacturing industries as a whole throughout the country, the rapidly increasing depression that began about September 1, 1913, had reached a stage by June and July, 1914, so that at that time the manufacturing of the country was between sixty and sixty-five per cent of normal. That is, a little over one-third of the employees of the country either were out of work or were working on not to exceed two-thirds time.

That statement applies to the hundreds of thousands of textile factory employees of New England, knitting-mill employees of New York, Wisconsin, and other States, brass and other metal workers of New England and the Atlantic and Middle Western States, and, in fact, to employees in most lines of manufacture.

The steel industry, taken as the industrial barometer, did not reach quite as low a stage as was the case in some lines; but from the beginning of 1914 until nearly a year after the European war started the steel industry of the country was from twenty to forty per cent below normal.

The manufacturing industries of New York State are probably as varied as those of any State in the Union, and, with few exceptions, as important as those of any State.

During June and July, 1914, the writer visited every county and every city and town of any importance in New York State.

In Hudson, at that time, the great cement plants were running at about sixty per cent

of their capacity, because of the slackness in building and construction work which the entire country was then experiencing. At Haverstraw and other brickmaking centers along the Hudson the brick kilns were being operated at less than half of their capacity because of the same condition, which resulted in over forty per cent of the carpenters, brick masons, structural iron workers, and other building tradesmen then being out of work or working on short time.

For the same reason more than half of the great barges that under normal conditions would convey crushed stone from the quarries along the Hudson were tied up along the banks, the quarry employees and boatmen being idle.

At Troy an inquiry of the head of one of the largest shirt, collar, and cuff factories in the world elicited the information that all of the factories in that town were then working about sixty-five per cent of normal, but they were going to decrease the output considerably below that sixty-five per cent. This they did a few weeks later.

At Gloversville, the great glove manufacturing center of the country, the factories were running less than fifty per cent of normal, and the Democratic tariff was ascribed by every manufacturer and employee as the cause of that industrial misfortune.

At Amsterdam the broom factories were working fifty per cent of normal, and the large knitting mills about sixty; but the knitting mills of that city, employing many thousand hands, were decreased to less than fifty per cent within a few weeks after I visited that place.

In Schenectady, where the great electrical works and locomotive works are the principal industries, in the latter part of 1913 giving employment to nearly thirty thousand hands in the two plants, the working forces had been decreased twenty-five per cent, and those still employed were working four and five days a week.

In Utica, until the Democratic tariff was enacted, there had been one of the largest woolen factories in the country, employing over three thousand hands. From early in 1913 the business of that plant fell off, as purchasers, expecting the free tariff in woolen goods, slackened their purchases in that line several months before the Wilson tariff was enacted. In November, 1913, that great woolen mill was shut down entirely, and not a wheel in it has ever turned since,

over three thousand people being thrown out of employment.

The knitting mills of Utica and at other near-by places in the Mohawk Valley at the time mentioned were running at about sixty per cent of normal.

At Syracuse one great typewriter plant was shut down entirely, and at Ilion and Syracuse the other typewriter plants were running at about half of their capacity.

Strange as it may seem, even the starch industry at Oswego had fallen off more than one-third.

At the cordage factories and agricultural implement works in Auburn, the pump works at Seneca Falls, the iron mines at Port Henry, and the locomotive works at Dunkirk the story was everywhere the same—working from seventy per cent down to forty per cent or less of the normal output.

It was not until the plaster-board factory at Lockport was visited that a single factory was found in the State that was working to its capacity and in which the over-demand required the erection of an addition at that time.

What was true in New York at that time and during the following months applied also to a large majority of the manufacturing industries from Omaha to Bangor.

One of the proprietors of one of the largest silk mills in the country told me in the fall of 1914 at Hartford, Connecticut, that his factory had been running short-handed and on part time, making about sixty per cent of the normal output, for several months, but that the accumulated stock had become so large that the next week they were going to shut down entirely for a time and then try to go ahead at about half capacity.

During the first eight or ten months after the war began in Europe the industrial conditions in this country did not change much in most lines, except to become worse instead of better. By January, 1915, the steel industry had begun to pick up a little, but it did not reach the normal until September 1, and it is only during the past ten months that that industry has enjoyed such phenomenal prosperity.

The automobile industry is the most important that has been marked by a steady increase during the entire period of the present Administration. Because of that, Detroit, the center of the automobile industry, has been one of the most prosperous cities during this time. But in the city of Detroit, with a population of less than seven hundred and

fifty thousand, during the winter of 1914-15 there were more than one hundred thousand workmen out of employment. That was not so much because of shortage of work there as because of the large number of skilled mechanics, thrown out of work in other places, who went to Detroit, hoping in the prosperous automobile factories there to find employment which they had lost by the closing down of, or shortening of help in, factories in the hundreds of cities and towns from which they came.

During that same winter there was not a city of any importance in the country in which there were not more men out of employment than there had ever been before, even the "soup house" era of the last Cleveland Administration being greatly eclipsed in the number of workless workmen at this time.

It is only during the past year that the great demand for war munitions from abroad has quickened the wheels of industry until its effects have been felt in all lines, that the

industrial conditions of the country have been restored to the normal, below which they sagged for more than two-thirds of the time during the present Administration.

The commercial, financial, industrial yardstick may not be the best to apply to determine the real merits of an administration, as The Outlook so ably pointed out editorially; but it is the measure that Mr. Price has applied in his presentation of part of the facts in his effort to make out a case for his political client.

But applying the same measure to the entire period of the present Administration shows that Democratic policies fall far short of the standard.

Are the voters of this country possessed of such short memories that they will be so impressed with the prosperity of the present year as to overlook entirely the period of industrial depression that has marked more than two-thirds of Mr. Wilson's incumbency of the executive chair?

Tulsa, Oklahoma.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

HOW STRONG ARE THE GERMANS?

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Most of our readers will remember that at the outbreak of the war Mr. Arthur Bullard was our War Correspondent at Home. Then, and for that matter ever since, the best place of vantage from which to observe the military operations of the war was New York; and Mr. Bullard's Story of the War written at this vantage-point from week to week confirmed his reputation as a war correspondent established by his earlier articles on the Balkan War, written from the front. During the past year Mr. Bullard has been in Europe studying the situation, and the following piece of correspondence, which will be succeeded by another letter in a later issue, is a result of his observations and his study of the subject.—THE EDITORS.

FROM the military point of view, the enigma of the third year of war is the problem of "effectives."

Since the Battle of the Marne the spokesmen of the Entente have been insisting that this is a war of attrition. The Central Empires are to be defeated by the wearing down of their resources in men and munitions. This makes the estimate of "effectives" the prime consideration of all military forecasts. How many soldiers are left in Hindenburg's command?

It is an exceedingly complicated calculation. A mere statistical counting of noses does not suffice. It is not chance which has made it easier for the Germans to win vic-

tories in the east than in the west. It is not hazard that the Czar's armies have defeated the Austrians oftener than the Germans. In the estimate of effectives the organization, the spirit of the armies, and, above all, their equipment, are quite as important as numbers.

And we are not even sure of the numbers. We do not know to-day with any accuracy how many soldiers were engaged in the Battle of the Marne. We can only guess at the size of the British army. Last spring Mr. Asquith announced that Britain's military effort was represented by more than five million voluntary engagements. A few days later Lloyd George spoke of two million

enlistments. And within the week Winston Churchill returned from the front to take part in the debate. He coined the famous phrase about "the ratio between rations and rifles." The strength of an army depends, not on the number of mouths fed, but on the number of enemies it keeps busy. He estimated that last May the British, in all their widely separated campaigns, were engaging approximately one million of their enemy. Since then they have undoubtedly sent more troops to the front—have reduced the ratio between rifles and rations. But nobody knows the figure of their present effectives in France.

There was a pre-war theory that the maximum mobilization was one soldier for every ten inhabitants. Bulgaria, in the Balkan Wars, came near this ideal of putting ten per cent of her population in arms. But Bulgaria was an agricultural country. She went into a short war, with a relatively large accumulation of munitions and limitless neutral markets to buy from. She manufactured very few munitions during the war.

Clearly ten per cent is too high an estimate for an industrial nation. At the outbreak of hostilities France called to the colors too large a percentage of her men. She had to demobilize, to send men back from the front to the munition factories. If Germany maintained ten per cent of her population under arms, her soldiers within a month would be ragged and half starved. They would be fighting with clubbed muskets. Her allies, less highly industrialized, may keep under arms a larger proportion of their men. But it is extremely doubtful if any of the belligerents have maintained this theoretical maximum mobilization of ten per cent.

At the beginning of this year I spent a month in Switzerland, studying the estimates of the Swiss military experts. They were better placed than any other neutral observers to hear from both sides. I found the French-speaking military critics differing more than half a million in their figures on the German reserves, and varying by thirty per cent in their estimates of the rate of attrition. The writers on military matters in the German-Swiss papers disagreed even more wildly. I returned to Paris convinced that my own estimates were as likely to be right as any one's, and with even greater certainty that I could discover no sound basis for my estimate. In this matter of "effectives"—the crucial element in a war of attrition—we have so far been reduced to mere guesses.

However, the strategic situation of this third year offers us at last sure bases for estimate. By Christmas we shall know much more definitely than ever before how the Germanic alliance stands.

The nations of the Entente have been making steady progress towards the ideal expressed by the French Premier: "Unity of action on a unity of front." It becomes more and more true that the Central Empires are "besieged." However, the "garrison" which Hindenburg commands is a group of highly organized nations which, if not completely self-sufficing, is so near it that the besieging armies cannot rely on reducing it speedily by hunger. They find it necessary to supplement their blockade by costly assaults.

But the beginning of the third year of war saw the lines about the Central Empires fairly complete. And the minimum demand on the Germanic General Staff was to hold this encircling line. Slight fluctuations here and there were of small moment, but it was of first necessity not to allow any serious break anywhere in the long "front."

This minimum demand the Central Empires were meeting. Brusiloff's dangerous advance into Austria was pretty well stopped. There was disquieting persistence in the Anglo-French offensive on the Somme and possible menace in the Italian attacks towards Trieste, but the Germans were maintaining their lines unbroken with the effectives actually at the front.

Back of their fighting lines they were certainly hard at work whipping reserves into shape. How large was this new army they were mustering? To come under the word "effectives"—to be more than a "mob"—it would have to be fully organized, properly drilled and officered, fully equipped with all the intricate machinery of modern warfare, and fully supplied with base factories for its steady and ample munitionment. Such a new army, formed behind the fighting lines and not needed for the routine work of their defense, would be technically described as "Strategic Reserve" or the "Mass of Maneuver."

The German soldiers actually under fire on the Somme front, for instance, are of course backed by "tactical reserves," ten to twenty miles in their rear. But these troops are held—or "hooked up," in the picturesque French terminology. They are more than busy where they are. They cannot be used

for strategic maneuver. The future of the war depends—more than on any other consideration—on the strength of this Strategic Reserve which has been silently forming in the interior of Germany during the recent months. What is the bulk of the Mass of Maneuver which Hindenburg will be able to throw into the campaign before Christmas?

Before New Year's Day we shall know the answer. For the plans he will make, the moves he will attempt, will be determined by the size of his Strategic Reserve. If his new maneuvering army is well over a million, he will do this. If it is less than a quarter of a million, he will do that. If it is somewhere between these figures, he will do the other.

It is necessary to emphasize the point that Strategic Reserve means the surplus over and above what is required to maintain the defense on the existing fronts. The enemy must everywhere be held and the wastage he causes must be steadily replaced. The effectives left after these minimum requirements are met constitute the Mass of Maneuver.

The entrance of Rumania into the war has decreased the choices before the General Staffs of the Central Empires, as they debate what to do with their Strategic Reserve. First of all, it has lengthened the front to be defended. This will "hook up"—remove from the Mass of Maneuver—at least a quarter of a million men. But it has done very much more. It has opened an avenue for a direct Russian attack on Bulgaria and Turkey. The forces of these two countries are already pretty thoroughly engaged elsewhere. Unless the Central Empires can "hook up" the Russian Strategic Reserves by serious attacks on the old front, and so keep them busy defending the home-land, the Russians will pour down across Rumania for a serious campaign in the Dobrudja. Unless the Teutonic Mass of Maneuver is strong enough to stop this, their Near Eastern dreams will explode like a bubble.

So this is a minimum. If the Strategic Reserves of the Central Empires are too small, they will be unable to come to the relief of Bulgaria. The equilibrium in the Near East will be definitely broken. If we see the Russians in Sofia by Christmas, it will surely indicate that Hindenburg's effectives are exhausted. The end will be in sight.

But now consider the other extreme—the maximum. If, after detaching enough of

their Mass of Maneuver to re-establish the equilibrium in the Near East—say 300,000 men—the high command of the Central Empires can dispose of a Strategic Reserve of a million or more, they will surely attack on the western front.

It is just as true to-day as when they began their march through Belgium that the Germans must destroy the French armies before they can hope for an unqualified victory. Now that Great Britain has had time to organize, the destruction of France would be only a first step, but it remains—and always will remain—the *sine qua non* of complete triumph.

The Germans will surely attempt it again if they think they have a fighting chance. It is inherent in the European situation. While the Germans may be ruined on any front, they can triumph only on the French front. If they drove the British into the Channel and the French still held, it would be glorious but not decisive. As long as they hope for victory they will dream of a successful attack on France. In the past they have not erred on the side of undue caution. If they see a gambling chance of smashing France, they will take it.

The six months' battle before Verdun gives us a base for reckoning their chances. The Crown Prince had at his disposal approximately half a million men for this attempt. They were utterly defeated, but they came within an ace of large success. It is idle to speculate on what would have happened if they had broken the French line. At the very least it would have been a grave blow to the Entente.

But that campaign must have persuaded the Germans that they have no chance of smashing France with half a million men. Their army before Verdun was as lavishly equipped as any of their future reserves can be, and the French have strengthened, continually are strengthening, their artillery.

But with a force twice as powerful the situation would be different. If the Germans could make two simultaneous drives—each as formidable as that on Verdun—one on the Champagne front; one near Nancy, the odds against them would be no worse than these they have often accepted before. Every German general would prefer such a campaign to any other. The only consideration which will keep them from the attempt is the knowledge that their Mass of Maneuver is too

small. If there is no new and more powerful German assault on the French lines before Christmas, we may be sure that their Strategic Reserves are less than a million.

But either extreme which I have discussed—a sufficient force for a western campaign or complete exhaustion—is highly improbable. There have been many surprises in this war, and new surprises are always possible. But it is more probable that Hindenburg and his advisers are considering what to do with a Mass of Maneuver too weak for any gigantic enterprise in the west, but still strong enough to prevent any immediate collapse. They will be looking forward to a peace based on something less than complete triumph. They will be planning to consolidate those conquests which are most easily defended and most valued. Such considerations will certainly turn their eyes to the Near East.

Obviously it would be easier for the Anglo-French forces to reconquer Belgium than Serbia. Short lines of communication are of immense importance. It is far easier to provision the large British army in Flanders than their relatively small force at Salonika. But of more importance is the political consideration that it is easier for the French and British Governments to keep up the war ardor of their people for campaigns near at home than for distant expeditions in the Balkans. German gains in the east can be more easily held than in the west.

Nine Germans out of ten find the idea of a railway from Berlin to Brussels less thrilling than the half-mystic *Berlin-Bagdad-Bahn*. Austrians do not value Antwerp as highly as Belgrade. The Bulgars rank Macedonia above Alsace-Lorraine. And, quite naturally, the Turks are more interested in the Dardanelles than in the Straits of Dover.

There is an immense popular sentiment throughout the Central Empires which pushes towards the Orient—the *Drang nach Osten*. If the process of attrition has worn down the Teuton effectives to the point which excludes not only the hope of victory, but also the hope of holding all their conquests, they will disgorge in the west rather than in the east.

So it is probable that Hindenburg is planning to throw whatever Mass of Maneuver he can muster against Russia to expand and consolidate the conquests in the Near East.

The most logical point of attack is the juncture between the Russian and Rumanian forces. Mackensen, in the Dobrudja, is operating at the end of a long and roundabout railway—Vienna, Belgrade, Sofia. His forces at present are probably not large; there is small chance of the German campaign there becoming serious. It would be much better strategy to keep the Russians out of the Dobrudja by keeping them busy at home.

The latest cable despatches tell of a German victory over the Rumanian army in Transylvania. But it is not probable that Hindenburg will expend his greatest efforts on this front. The reconquest of that section of Hungary recently overrun by the Rumanians would have no great strategic value. And, unless the Rumanians are completely disorganized by this reverse, they ought to be able, at the very least, to put up an exceedingly stubborn defense in the wild and precipitous mountains of their frontier. The Germans are not so modest as merely to desire the reconquest of what they have lost. They wish to punish the Rumanians. And the shortest route to Bucharest will be a longer way round than a direct assault on the fortifications of the frontiers of the Transylvanian Alps.

For months now Hindenburg's forces have been holding the armies of Brusiloff in practical equilibrium. If Hindenburg were able to concentrate half a million men south of Lemberg, he could overcome the equilibrium and have a fair fighting chance of breaking through. If he could drive his wedge down the valley of the Pruth to the Black Sea, he would completely isolate Rumania. She would have to choose between quick surrender and the fate of Belgium and Serbia.

Certainly the high command of the Entente has foreseen this probable attack and has actively prepared against it. We have no reliable information on the strength of the armies of Brusiloff. He may have at his disposal forces sufficient to maintain the offensive; but with any Mass of Maneuver too small to threaten France the campaign down the Pruth offers the Central Empires more profit than any other.

So, as soon as the next German move develops, we can estimate their Strategic Reserves with considerable accuracy. If in the next few months they do not launch new and more stupendous attacks on France, it will be because they cannot muster a Mass of Maneuver large enough to give them any hope. It

will mean that their effective reserves are less than a million. If, on the other hand, they do not speedily come to the relief of Bulgaria, it will mean that their reserves are entirely exhausted.

If their attack falls on the southern end of the Russian line and makes any considerable progress, it will indicate that Hindenburg has found a new army of from four to seven hundred thousand men.

If he reaches the Black Sea, so cutting off Rumania from Russia, or if he succeeds in any similarly ambitious project, it will indicate the larger figure. If he barely re-establishes an equilibrium in the Near East and succeeds only in keeping the Russians too busy at home to invade Bulgaria, it will indicate a strategic reserve of less than half a million.

As the front to defend lengthens, it absorbs more and more of the stock of new soldiers merely to make good the loss of routine, tactical fighting, and so makes it increasingly difficult to accumulate a Strategic Reserve. Once this process has gone so far that the Germans have no Mass of Maneuver left, the Entente has practically won its war of attrition.

Next spring, while the anti-German forces will be stronger, the Strategic Reserve of the Central Empires will be smaller than it is to-day.

As Hindenburg's Austrian campaign develops we shall be able to estimate the bulk of his present Mass of Maneuver. By Christmas it may be possible to prophesy the date of peace.

ARTHUR BULLARD.

AN ASIATIC VIEW OF THE JAPANESE QUESTION

BY LAJPAT RAI

Apart from the intrinsic value of this article as a view of the new Eastern situation from India, the personality and career of the author lend special interest. Mr. Rai is a lawyer and leader of the bar in Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. He has been a prominent member of the National Indian Congress; has taken part in the religious movement known as the Ayra Somaj; he is well known as a journalist and writer both for Indian and English papers; was active in the relief in the famine years, and is earnest in the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes in India, which have been described as "forty millions of outcasts." Mr. Rai has studied American as well as English and Japanese industrial, social, and educational questions, and has been prominent in the new Nationalist movement in India, which he describes as a protest against present political conditions, with its aim as self-rule, but not necessarily severance from the British Empire, rather partnership in it. At one time he was prosecuted by the British Government for alleged sedition and disloyalty, but was released and won suits against newspapers for publishing such charges against him. He believes that the right way for the British Government to prevent revolution in India is to carry out a more liberal policy in its political treatment of the natives. In view of Mr. Rai's attitude as to India and the British Government, what he has to say as to the relation of Japan to the Eastern question has peculiar value.—THE EDITORS.

THE first event of any importance that aroused the interest of the Orient in Japan was the Chino-Japanese War of 1894. Till then Japan was an obscure country, known only to the students of geography, which the common people of the Orient felt no special interest in. There was hardly any kind of intercourse, intellectual or commercial, between Japan and eastern Asia; and none worth mentioning with India. It is difficult to recall exactly the impression that Japan's victory over China made upon India. The only country in Asia that mattered then was Russia. Russia was the great bogey of

India. It had been impressed on us, both officially and non-officially, that Russia was the greatest enemy of Asiatics; that Russia aimed at India; and that we should help the British Government of India in order to keep the northern Colossus as far away as possible. Fabulous sums of the taxpayers' money had been spent in subsidies to the buffer state of Afghanistan in checkmating Russian intrigues at the Courts of Persia and Kabul, in building frontier forts, in laying down strategic railways, and in otherwise fortifying the frontier against a possible invasion of India by Russia. No one in India

thought that the Chino-Japanese War was in effect a war to check the endeavors of Russia to create a hegemony for herself in the Far East. If the Indian people could have realized in 1894 that in fighting with China Japan was really fighting with Russia, they would have unquestionably sympathized with Japan. But it was not so clear at that time. On the other hand, the feeling was that in weakening China Japan was playing into the hands of the European Powers. She herself was considered to be too small a nation to overcome European aggressions in China if the latter was rendered incapable of defending herself. The Asiatic sentiment was altogether in favor of China. They looked upon Japan's fight with China as the attempt of a younger member of the family to oust, humiliate, and destroy an elder who had so far been an object of respect and admiration. They wanted Japan to help China to save herself from the wolf at the door. So, at the end of the war, when Germany and Russia stepped in to coerce Japan to give up the fruits of her victory and barred her from getting a foothold on the mainland, the Orient was disposed to look upon the interference as more or less an act of benevolence towards China. Only a few realized that the move was actuated by the basest of motives and was intended to give a free hand to Russia.

Nor was this impression in any way improved by the part Japan played in putting down the Boxer rising. The Orient was in full sympathy with the Boxers. It did not approve of all that the Boxers did, but it looked upon the Boxers' rising as a protest against foreign aggressions in China and fully sympathized with their object. The excesses and brutalities committed by the soldiery of the Powers after they had put down the rising roused the bitterest indignation of the Orient. The people of Asia did not like the Japanese taking part in the excesses or even standing by, considering that they belonged to the same race and were, in fact, bound to each other by ties of blood and language. All Asia expected that Japan would make common cause with China and save the Far East from European domination. There was no change in the feeling until Japan declared war on Russia. Japan's declaration of war on Russia fell on the Orientals like a bolt from the blue. They were dumfounded at the audacity of Japan, though their sympathies were all with her. Their

first feeling was one of apprehension and fear, such as is felt when somebody near and dear is in danger. People thought that Japan and China were both lost and the European domination over Asia was complete. The first victories came like agreeable surprises and aroused immense enthusiasm. But confidence in the final victory of Japan was not entertained until Kuropatkin was routed and Togo had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russian fleet. The enthusiasm created by these victories in Asia generally, but in India particularly, was unbounded. Anything of that kind had not happened within the memory of the rising generation. Newspapers were in great demand. Their circulation went up by leaps and bounds; new ones were started and at once found a ready sale. Many weeklies were converted into dailies. Sympathy was changed into an active desire to help. Offers of military service began to pour in. They did not materialize because the British Government would not allow it. But nevertheless several medical men went to Japan on their own hook and offered their services. I know personally of one such case. Officially the Anglo-Saxon people were in sympathy with the Japanese, but individual Europeans in India even then looked upon Japan's victories with suspicion and disgust. There was an Armenian barrister-at-law practicing at the same court where I used to practice, and I well remember what hot discussions we had with him and with others about the war. He looked upon the Japanese with contempt and predicted their defeat. He called them little monkeys whom the northern Bear would soon eat up. He was not the only exception. Some veteran Anglo-Indian officials looked upon the Japanese victories with extreme apprehension. It was a question of prestige. A European Power like the Russian being whipped by a small Asiatic nation like the Japanese—why, that was unthinkable! It was a sure prelude to revolutions in Asia. The Anglo-Indian Imperialist was uneasy at its effects on India, and he was not wrong. The Japanese successes over Russia materially contributed to the development of the Nationalist movement in India. In a speech made by the present writer at a banquet given in his honor by the Japanese newspaper men at Tokyo in October of last year, he made the following observations:

"The Asiatics look upon Japan as the one Asiatic country that has not only suc-

cessfully protected herself from foreign aggression, but has even considerably improved her status. The Great Powers twenty-five years ago were disposed to look upon Japan as a tiny little nation not entitled to enforce her laws even in her own territories. She had to submit to humiliating conditions. But she is now in a position to assert her full manhood and to make her own terms with other Powers, and is otherwise in a position to compete on equal terms with Europe and America in almost all departments of national and international life. The rest of Asia is not only happy at Japan's progress, but proud of her achievements. She vindicated the honor of Asia and proved to the world that, given equal opportunities, the Asiatics are inferior to none—in any sphere of life, military or civil. It is a pleasure to see Japan's flag on every sea in the world, where forty years ago Asia was simply *non est*. It was a matter of extreme humiliation and regret to see Asiatic waters dominated by Europe and exclusively navigated by them. Thanks to the manhood of Japan and her patriotism, things have now considerably changed, and there is at least one Asiatic nation that shares the sovereignty of the seas with Europe and America." Again:

"We in India were being constantly told that patriotism was a Western virtue and that democratic institutions were the peculiar products of Europe. Of course this is not true; but it was reserved for Japan to prove conclusively that it was not so; and the rest of Asia is very grateful to Japan for having done so. Asia has never made a secret of her pleasure at Japan's victories and achievements. When Japan was giving blows to Russia and making history on the plains of Manchuria, all Indians, from the lowest to the highest, man, woman, and child, young and aged, followed the course of the war with a glow of pride and satisfaction, as if they were directly interested in the result. As Asiatics, they thought that they were entitled to share these glories and victories."

This is an absolutely true picture of the feelings of the Orient about Japan; but it would be untrue to maintain that the feeling has not undergone a change since then, and I made no secret of this change even on the occasion referred to above, as I added:

"It will not be in conformity with truth

to say that there is as much enthusiasm for Japan in India now as during the course of and immediately after the Russo-Japanese War. The causes are many, and most of the waning of this enthusiasm is due to misunderstandings which I hope will be removed before long. In any case, there is no denying the fact that every Asiatic country, and every son and daughter of Asia, is intensely interested in the future of Japan. Any setback in the progress of Japan will be considered a setback to Asia."

The misunderstandings to which I alluded are of more general application to the Japanese policy in Asia than to anything relating to India. To be frank, the Indians did not like Japan's alliance with England, particularly the clause guaranteeing British supremacy in India; but the fact that that clause was more directed against Russian designs in regard to India than to Indian aspirations neutralized the sting very much. What has created great dissatisfaction in India, however, is Japan's attitude toward China. For people sitting in India, who have not traveled in the Far East, it is impossible to realize how much of Japan's policy relating to China is inspired by the instinct of self-preservation. They are apt to ascribe it to ambition, and believe that Japan has started on a mission of domineering the whole of Asia; and there can be no doubt that, looked at outwardly and judged from the speeches and writings of a section of the Japanese press and of some members of the military party, that construction is not without foundation. A visit to Japan, however, and a careful study of the question on the spot, such as I had the good fortune of making last year, enables one to modify his opinions a great deal. It is unmistakable that there is a strong and powerful party in Japan which is inspired by an Imperial vision of expansion and aggrandizement. Last year, when there was talk of the Allies trying to get China to join their ranks formally, "Hochi," the organ of the Japanese party in power, said quite openly and frankly that Japan was the lord of the Orient, and would not brook any one else's interference in Asia. The Japanese claim of enforcing the principle of the Monroe Doctrine in Japan's own favor in Asia also leads people to think the same way. The Asiatics would have no objection to subscribing to the Monroe Doctrine in favor of Japan if Japan would enforce it in the same spirit that the United States does. Asia would

be only too glad to let Japan occupy a leading position in the continental politics of Asia. There is no desire to ignore the fact that Japan has won this position by her sacrifice and manliness and is entitled to it; but if Japan aims at more than that and wants to absorb the whole of Asia, then the matter assumes a different aspect.

Japan's alliance with Russia looks very ominous, though as a counter-stroke against Great Britain it may be agreeable to some people. But if this fresh alliance means an understanding between the three Powers to divide China and to strengthen the chains of bondage upon the already oppressed natives of Asia, then it will certainly create the greatest possible resentment and indignation in the Orient. In fairness to Japan, it must be considered that her ambition to expand cannot be considered as absolutely sinister. There she is, a small nation circumscribed in a narrow strip of land surrounded by strong and powerful nations on both sides of the water. There can be no doubt that if she had not taken possession of Korea Russia would have grabbed it. Russia in Korea would have been a menace to Japan. Similarly Japan could not allow Russian expansion in northeastern China without taking a risk. Also the military and naval exigencies of her position in the Pacific force her to seek means of expansion and money-making abroad. Relying on her internal resources, she could not possibly maintain the army and navy that she does maintain. There is no room for her in America. Naturally, she seeks to make room for herself in Asia. The situation could be considered safe if there was a firm and lasting friendship assured between the Japanese and American peoples. If Japan could have free access to the American countries and the United States and Japan could enter into a real alliance, the integrity of China would be saved. So far as I could judge from my conversations with the prominent Japanese statesmen and publicists, I can say that in the high circles of Japan there is no desire to invite or encourage a conflict with the United States. The educated party of Japan entertains not only respect but feelings of gratitude towards this country. But underneath these feelings of respect there lurks a grave fear. I remember that in the course of conversation a Japanese statesman of the highest rank told me how the tendency in the United States towards militarism and the new pre-

paredness cry were forcing them to starve the internal improvement of their country in order to be ready for any military emergency. Then of late the anti-British feeling in Japan has been growing apace. The representatives of Great Britain in China having excited the suspicion of the Japanese, the feeling is growing that Japanese and British interests in the East are antagonistic. Japan can expect no help from Great Britain if an armed conflict should ensue between her and the United States, and she fears that together they might crush her. It is this fear that is driving her into the arms of Russia. She feels that she must have the support of a Great Power in the face of the growing feeling of distrust and suspicion that is developing against her in America and Great Britain.

The Orientals are simply perplexed at the developments. They would like to support and strengthen Japan. They would gladly submit to her leadership. They would do anything to enable her to be prepared for an emergency. But, frankly, they cannot conceal their perplexity at the constant bullying of China by Japan. I know from personal knowledge that among the higher circles of the Japanese opinion is by no means unanimous about Japan's policy in China. Some very able and respected men in Japan have a genuine sympathy with China. They would like to help China. They would like to help India. Their ambition for Japan is a position of honored leadership. Yes, there are men in Japan who can be compared with the most advanced humanitarians of the West—men who want a position of moral leadership for Japan, and not one of political and military aggrandizement at the cost of other peoples' liberties. They have a sincere abhorrence of the latter rôle. But the difficulty is that the people are more likely to be influenced by the ambitious Imperialist than by the political moralist.

The speech already quoted by me concluded with the following remarks:

"Asia has a noble mission—that is, to lead the world to the path of true morality, of true ethics; to teach her such universal brotherhood as would know no distinctions of color or creed. Asia has to learn from Europe the ways and means by which to acquire mastery over nature. Asia has to teach Europe how the power thus gained can and should be applied for the service

of humanity, for the spiritual advancement of man, for the evolution of supermen—and not for the exploitation of one race by another. This is the great mission of Asia, for which all the sons and daughters of Asia should combine to the glory of their mother continent. The realization of this mission requires that the Japanese leaders should be in closer touch with life in Asia; that there should be a friendly understanding between the peoples of Asia. Friendliness with Asiatic people does not imply hostility or conflict with non-Asiatics; but, if it ever comes to that, Japan's strength, safety, and security will best lie in the affectionate sympathy and support of the billions of Asiatics,

rather than in the half-hearted support of one or more European nations."

Young Japan probably considers this as sentimental and outside the scope of practical politics, so it is difficult to imagine what is going to happen. Political developments have at times the knack of shaping themselves contrary to the wishes of those most concerned. The world is moving so fast and events upon events are developing so rapidly that it is folly to prophesy what will happen. This much, however, may be said: that Japan has the best wishes of the Oriental peoples in her progress, in the hope that she, on her side, will respect their manhood and integrity.

A FUNCTION OF STATE

BY FRANK MARSHALL WHITE

THERE were thirteen of us gathered in the office of the Warden of Sing Sing Prison as dawn broke over the Westchester County hills on a recent September morning. The only one of my companions with whom I was acquainted was a man I had met at the Warden's table the previous evening; he was a statistician, writer, and lecturer of reputation. There were four newspaper reporters among us, and the others were a nondescript lot who looked as if they might be followers of almost any unlearned vocation. The oldest in the group was a man of apparently seventy years, and the youngest about twenty-five, both of newspaperdom; the ages of the rest ranged between thirty and forty. Few of the other men seemed to be acquainted, and we all stood or sat in uneasy and dismal silence. One or two men held partly consumed cigars they had brought in from the street, but they did not venture to smoke, although the youngest reporter puffed occasionally, surreptitiously and nervously, at a cigarette he had hidden in his sleeve. While, however, our demeanor was that of culprits gathered for an underhand purpose, we were under the impression that we had come together to serve the State in some way. Perhaps we were protecting our firesides; perhaps we were celebrating a victory of law and order. I was not sure. Neither could I define the nature of the function in which

we were participating, whether political, economical, or social.

Each of the thirteen of us had somewhere on his person a typewritten document, done on the Prison letter-head, under the proud legend "State of New York," bidding his presence as "a witness at the execution by electricity of Thomas Bambrick, Joseph Hanel, and Jan Trybus," which ceremony was to take place that morning, with the further information that the hour of 5:45 had been designated for the occurrence and that the witnesses were to be present in the Warden's office not later than 5:30 o'clock. None of us knew of his own knowledge whether Hanel or Trybus was innocent or guilty of the crimes for which they were to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, although each man had a previous criminal record. We all knew that Bambrick had been granted a reprieve at the eleventh hour, because evidence had come to hand indicating grave doubt that he was the man who had done the deed for which he had been sentenced to die. How many others of the thirteen were aware of the circumstance I do not know, but I myself knew that Trybus had been convicted on a confession obtained by "third degree" methods, and stoutly asserted his innocence. It occurred to me that there might be fewer miscarriages of justice in homicide cases if the juries who convicted men of capital crimes and the judges who

sentenced them were forced to take part in the resultant executions.

Warden Osborne had left the Prison the night before, as was his habit on the occasion of an execution, in protest at what he terms judicial murder. A tall, broad-shouldered young man came into the Warden's office just before the hour of 5:30 and stood at the desk. His face was haggard, his features serious beyond his years. He looked as if he had gone long without requisite hours of sleep—as, indeed, was the fact, though we did not many of us know it. This was Spencer Miller, Jr., the Warden's private secretary. He had spent the three previous nights scouring New York City's slums in search of the evidence that had brought about Bambrick's reprieve, and had now come from the death cells, where he had done what was in his power to comfort the two men condemned to die that morning. Secretary Miller very briefly informed us that the principal keeper of the Prison would have charge of the executions, and that we were to follow that official's instructions in the lethal chamber; further than that, any of us who, on reaching the door of the chamber, did not wish to enter might turn back, but that those who entered must remain until the spectacle we had come to witness was played through. Coffee would be served us at once in the Warden's dining-room, the secretary said, and he expressed his belief that a year from that time capital punishment would be a thing of the past in the State of New York. Then he left the Prison and started on foot across the hills, to be as far away from the scene of execution as possible as his protest against the taking of human life.

Many of the fourteen hundred prisoners in the cells, the hospital, and the dormitories of the Prison had been awake most of the night, and were waiting in silence to be informed by the keepers when the executions were over. During the recreation period the previous day the men had been under the spell of the tragedy only a few hours off, which they discussed in twos and threes and little groups about the Prison grounds. The information that Bambrick had been reprieved had reached them just before the supper hour, and had been received with cheers. The demeanor of the principal keeper and those underkeepers assigned to assist him in the death chamber at daybreak was that of men who themselves apprehended execution. "It's the dirtiest work of the medical profession," said Dr.

Squires, the Prison physician. Some of the keepers had seriously discussed the question as to what would happen if they should refuse to carry out the death orders of the courts. It seems that all that could happen in that extremity would be the forfeiture by the Warden of the \$50,000 bond under which he performs his duties.

Having solemnly drank, each of us, a cup of coffee, we thirteen witnesses, at a signal from the principal keeper, followed him down the steps of the Warden's veranda and to a door in the Prison wall that opened at our approach. On the other side of the wall we were ushered into a low-roofed structure about half the size of a country school-house. Its furnishings were plain. There were three rows of seats at the end of the room near the door by which we entered, but the plainness of the furnishings was relieved from simplicity by a squat, ugly, black chair at the farther end of the inclosure, and an electric apparatus in a corner. There were many unbuckled straps attached to the arms and legs of the squat and ugly chair, and a coil of heavy black wire depended from the ceiling above it. We took our seats on the benches, our only instructions from the principal keeper being that we were not to speak during the impending ceremonies. Standing close to the squat chair were four uniformed keepers and three physicians, the prison doctor and two others—one tall and fat, the other short and fat. The short and fat doctor had his stethoscope clasped about his neck, which gave him the appearance of having his head in a noose—reminiscent of an earlier method of inflicting capital punishment. The only other person in the room was a little, partially bald man of middle age, in a pepper-and-salt suit, who seemed to bound rather than walk from the squat chair to the electrical apparatus and back, adjusting and connecting wires and bolts. He was the official electrician of the death chamber—the executioner.

All of the men about the squat chair, with the exception of the electrician who was tinkering eagerly with his machinery, stood with their eyes fixed upon a little door in the right wall of the chamber, and we thirteen witnesses had scarcely taken our seats when it opened from the inside. Through it came a small man garbed in black, walking with steady steps beside the Prison chaplain, who, in somber robes and purple-embroidered stole, read from an open book he held before him. The small, black-clad man held a cruci-

fix to his breast, as he repeated line for line the words of the prayer the priest was reading. This was Hanel. So unconscious did he seem of his environment that I would have believed that he was under the influence of a drug, were it not that his responses to the prayers were in clear and firm tones. The fact was that he was in a state of complete spiritual exaltation. He moved directly to the squat chair, but did not seem to see it, nor the cluster of men about him, much less the thirteen witnesses before him. Rapt, he did not realize his shameful surroundings, but conceived himself at the very gate of paradise. As he was gently pushed into the squat chair the keepers fell upon him with strap and buckle, reminding me of hostlers hurriedly changing horses on a coaching route. He was unconscious of their presence as he recited after the priest: *My Lord and my God, even now I willingly and cheerfully accept whatever form of death you may be pleased to send me*, and at the same moment that the iron helmet attached to the dangling coil of black wire descended to his head he steadily concluded the prayer—*with all its anguish, its sorrow, and its pain*. With the helmet on his head, he bore an absurd resemblance to one of Van der Herr's caricatures I had recently seen of a German soldier.

And now the men about the squat chair backed away from it; the executioner bounded to and jerked a lever, and in the irreducible minimum of a part of the fraction of a second Hanel ceased to be. The doctors having stethoscopically discovered this condition, and the Prison physician having duly conveyed the information to us, two of the keepers, each putting on a long white robe—resembling rather too closely, from an ethical view-point, the outer garments affected by men who deal in undressed meat—carried the poor shell that had been a human tenement through a door behind the squat chair for post-mortem examination.

The conditions attending the demise of Jan Trybus, which occurred immediately afterward, were almost exactly the same as in the case of Hanel. Trybus was also in a state of religious exaltation, and apparently absolutely unconscious of what went on about him immediately previous to his taking off. A Polish priest accompanied the Prison chaplain and the condemned man to the squat chair, and read the prayers for the dying to him in his own language.

Back in the Warden's office, as we thirteen,

as witnesses, signed the death certificates of the two men whose crimes had thus been expiated, we gathered such fragments of information from the voices of the reporters over the telephone to the afternoon newspapers, as: "Ten amperes," "1,900 volts," "One minute and thirty seconds," and the like. Meanwhile autopsies had already been begun upon the bodies, previous to the carrying out of an enlightened provision of the law of the State of New York with regard to the disposition of the remains of men executed for murder, which reads: "After such post-mortem examination the body, unless claimed by some relative or relatives of the person so executed, shall be interred in the graveyard or cemetery attached to the Prison, with a sufficient quantity of quicklime to consume such body without delay." No relative claimed the body of either Hanel or Trybus.

That Bambrick, who was to have died on the same morning as Hanel and Trybus, obtained a reprieve is due to the fact that Police Commissioner Arthur Woods, of New York, addressed the Mutual Welfare League, who comprise the inmates of that institution, in Sing Sing on the Wednesday forty-eight hours before the executions, informing them that the doors of Police Headquarters were open to any ex-convict who might be persecuted by the police. Bambrick, who is twenty-six years of age, and has been a criminal all his life and a terror to the police, had been convicted of the killing of a policeman in a fight at a political picnic, and his friends claimed that other policemen had "framed him up" in order to get rid of him. On Thursday the Warden's secretary presented evidence to Commissioner Woods tending to show that the young man in the shadow of death had possibly been victimized by policemen. Mr. Woods was as good as his word, and it was his representations to the Governor that brought about Bambrick's reprieve.¹

At the Warden's table on the evening of the executions at Sing Sing the subject of capital punishment came up for discussion among Mr. Osborne, Mr. Miller, and Dr. Bernard Glueck, the young psychiatrist whose clinic in the Prison had then been in existence some four or five weeks. "I have five definite objections to capital punishment," Mr. Osborne told the others. "In the first place, I object to the taking of human life. A sin is no less a sin because it is committed by

¹ Bambrick's appeal failed and he was executed on October 7.—THE EDITORS.

a large number of people acting together as what is called society than when it is committed by a single individual. I have tried in vain to ascertain where crime becomes righteous punishment. If in cold blood and with premeditation I kill a man, no matter how worthy my motives, nor how bad the man, I commit murder. If a friend helps me do the killing, we two commit murder. If a third man has knowledge of our plans, there are three of us who commit murder. If thirty men form a mob and plan to kill, it is still murder, even though they have a blood ritual which binds them together. And exactly where is the difference in guilt between thirty men and three thousand or three hundred thousand, who kill after certain legal forms, or rituals, have been observed, I fail to see. I object to capital punishment, in the second place, because it is such bad social bookkeeping—the only situation I know of where we try to balance a debit by another debit. We know perfectly well that the only way to balance a negative is by a positive. The only way to balance destruction is to construct. The only way to remedy evil is to overcome evil with good. And yet we adhere to the misguided theory that the way to balance one killing is by another killing, to balance a debit by a debit. My third objection to capital punishment is that it encourages crime. It is a popular supposition that men are frightened away from crime by fear of the death penalty. I believe that nothing is farther from the truth. I fail to find in history any example to show us that fear has ever been an effective agent for producing good conduct. Among the type of men that are apt to commit the crime of murder fear is the least efficient appeal that can be made. While a very few may be deterred from murder by dread of capital punishment, I am perfectly satisfied that a great many more are encouraged to commit that crime because the State fails to hold human life sacred. Then a man who ‘goes to the chair’ is too frequently a hero in the minds of many, and it is as true in crime as in religion that ‘the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.’”

“That fear of capital punishment is not a reliable preventive of homicide is proved in the death-cells of Sing Sing to-day,” Secretary Miller remarked. “There are four gunmen—*gunmen*! gunboys comes nearer an accurate description, since two of them are twenty-one and the others twenty and

nineteen respectively—awaiting execution there. The four are of Italian parentage. Two of them are under sentence for the murder of Baff, the poultry dealer who was shot by hired assassins from an automobile in exactly the same manner as was Rosenthal, immediately after the execution of the four gunmen and Becker, who were found guilty of the crime. The minutest details of that execution were read and re-read by every active and potential gangster in New York. The other two condemned Italians have been found guilty in the Gimari case, for which former Deputy Street-Cleaning Commissioner Rofrano is now awaiting trial. That crime was also committed after the execution of the four others and Becker, and was of the same high-handed order of violence as the murder of Rosenthal. Another similar crime, if the verdict of the jury is correct, is that of the twenty-one-year-old youth McNamara. He was found guilty in the Dobbs Ferry murder case last January of killing a man he had never seen before for a fee paid to him by the murdered man’s relatives. All five of these young men are of the very class that the executions in the Rosenthal case, and other executions like them, are supposed to frighten most. Bambrick, who has just been reprieved, made a point yesterday of impressing upon his lawyer the fact that it was not fear of ‘the chair’ that moved him to make the present effort to regain his freedom.”

No one could ask for stronger proof that capital punishment is not a deterrent of crime, was Warden Osborne’s comment. “My fourth objection to the execution of men convicted of murder,” he continued, “is on the ground of the frequency with which innocent men are slaughtered; and my fifth, the utter unfairness of the system. According to figures accumulated some years ago by the New York ‘World,’ less than three and a half per cent of homicides are followed by the death penalty. Many murderers escape punishment because they are not caught; many escape because they can buy the advantage of legal technicalities and the services of clever lawyers; many escape because of the refusal of juries to inflict the death penalty; many escape because of executive commutation of sentence; many escape because of lack of convincing evidence. And so more than ninety six and a half per cent of murderers escape punishment; and it is only, as a rule, the weak tools, the shiftless, and the inefficient who are caught or punished. I

find in the matter of the infliction of the death penalty, as in so many other aspects of the prison question, a very large amount of misunderstanding, because the manner in which our law is administered gives opportunity for endless technicalities and delays. We jump to the conclusion that any man sentenced must unquestionably be guilty, but the fact of the matter is that taking advantage of technicalities is a matter of expense, and only the wealthy and those whose cases have aroused sensational attention can afford to take advantage of these technicalities. Consequently I believe that there are a large number of men sent to death innocent of the crime of premeditated murder. They may be undesirable citizens, they may be weak and worthless, they may be mentally deficient—they are *not* guilty of premeditated murder.”

“That same group of men in the Sing Sing death-cells proves also Mr. Osborne’s statement as to the frequency with which innocent men are legally slaughtered, and the unfairness of the system of capital punishment,” said Mr. Miller. “Of the twelve condemned men left after this morning’s visitation, certainly one, Stielow, is innocent, for another man has confessed to the crime. There is great doubt of Bambrick’s guilt. There is yet a chance of McNamara being proved innocent. Only this week the Prison chaplain received a letter from a woman who declares that she could have prevented the conviction of Jazra, the Armenian convicted of the murder of a fellow-countryman, only that her lawyer prevented her going on the stand. In the cases of the four Italian gunmen I have mentioned before, and that of McNamara, guilt is not absolutely established, and in all five instances the prisoners are dupes of others more guilty than they. The business rivals who organized the conspiracy to murder Baff do not seem to be in danger of ‘the chair.’ The boys convicted in the Gimari case are mere tools of politicians. If McNamara is guilty of murder, he had no part in the original plot, while those who had escaped capital punishment. In fact, there rests a vast deal of doubt about the guilt of the majority of the condemned men. In some cases it is a doubt of the degree of guilt; in others the issue is as wide as innocent or

guilty. So much for the accuracy of our criminal procedure. My protest is against the stupidity of it all—continuing a process which so conspicuously fails to accomplish the object for which it is created.”

“Capital punishment means an economic loss to the State, as well as the continuation of a barbarous system,” Dr. Glueck observed, producing from a pocket twelve cards on each of which the “pedigree” of a condemned man was inscribed. “The ages of the twelve inmates left in the death-house at Sing Sing,” he continued, “range from forty-six to nineteen, all being in the prime of life or in the formative period. Eight out of the twelve are twenty-one years of age or younger, the plastic period running until the ages of from thirty to thirty-three. Seven out of the twelve are first offenders. There are only two illiterates among them; seven have partial public school educations; two have been graduated from high schools. One, the only poisoner among them, had a university education. While perhaps a majority of the twelve may have twisted intelligences, they are abnormal rather than subnormal. If the State were to teach these men and boys trades, and put them to work instead of depriving them of their lives, an economic gain to the State would ensue.”

“Would you consider that any of these twelve men and boys in the ordinary course, after serving sentences as members of the Mutual Welfare League and passing the same test as the other inmates of Sing Sing of fitness for return to society, would be a menace to society if set at liberty?” inquired Mr. Osborne.

“Of the four condemned men with whom I have become intimately acquainted so far, I would not hesitate to answer in the negative your question concerning three of them,” the psychiatrist replied.

“Well,” the Warden of Sing Sing declared, “I could name twenty members of the Mutual Welfare League, graduates from this institution and Auburn Prison, who are to-day splendid men, leading more than ordinarily useful lives, any one of whom had once led a criminal career that, barring capital crime, was as bad as that of almost any inmate of our hideous death-cells.”

HOW WILL YE REAP?

BY KATHRYN PECK

Well, the game is nearly over—
Is it ye who have showed the rule?
Is it ye who have played the master,
And we who have played the fool?
God! you've been slow in learning,
For your lives have been gummed with gold;
Ye shall waken to find us young with fight,
While ye are withered and old.
For we are the sweat of cities,
Shaped by the hand of hate,
Wise in the school of bitterness—
The men who are willing to wait.
Ye have builded your walls to touch the stars,
Ye have had what ye wanted to take;
But what will ye do with your waving walls
When the ground begins to shake?
When the ground begins to stir, and the stark foundations bend—
Then will ye fathom the millions dead
That it took not a war to spend?
Ye have leaned on our brawn for a thousand years,
Ye have counted our worth with a mouth full of lies,
Ye have buckled us under, and laughed at our threats,
While your leaders babbled of compromise.
A void promise—a word to the winds—
Ye give up a nothing to half our all;
Shall we reckon not the dead ideal, nor the cry of children at the wheel?
Shall we reckon not the call?
A thousand times we have shouted, "No,"
As a thousand times ye have grimed our star.
Ye have twisted our spirits to touch the toe
Of the god of things as they are.
If, as ye say, the world is set,
And time will not bring one to understand,
Then hearken, my brothers, 'tis labor's turn
At a shake of the upper hand!
Ask not for peace—have ye taught us the name?
Utopia blooms not through the trade,
If, like children at school, we follow the rule
That the law books before us made.
Little of quiet ye brought us in the knotted book of life,
Little of justice ye taught us, little of reverence brought;
Shall we take up the reins of the sluggard world,
And teach as ye have taught?
The day will come. We will laugh at you—
Even now ye are sore afraid,
For ye broke our star with your things that are,
And out of the pieces your ruin made.
Ay, mend up your ways while the time is ripe,
'Tis in your hands to silence strife.
Ye know in your souls that our plea is just—
Come, give us our half of life!

BY THE WAY

Wisconsin convicts are receiving lessons by mail in a correspondence school conducted by the State University. Many of the prisoners who are thus seeking to better their condition after they are liberated are studying mechanical engineering, and others are taking courses in Spanish and French.

The ukulele, a pseudo-Hawaiian musical instrument invented by a Portuguese, has jumped into great popularity in this country. The Department of Commerce reports that the American demand is so great that Hawaiian manufacturers are now turning out 1,600 instruments a month.

The rapid elimination of the horse from the streets of New York is shown by official records just issued. Nearly seven-tenths of all vehicular traffic, not including street cars and motor cycles, is self-propelled. On Fifth Avenue, at Forty-second Street, 91½ per cent of the traffic last month consisted of motor vehicles and only 8½ per cent was horse-drawn.

The gold challenge cup for the fastest motor boat, which went last year to "Miss Detroit," goes this year, as a result of the races last month, to "Miss Minneapolis." The East seems to be forgotten in these contests.

"The British Ladies' School of Motoring" announces in an English weekly that motoring now offers "a healthy, enjoyable, and, if desired, highly remunerative outdoor occupation for ladies, in which they can help their country, which is in great need of women drivers owing to the scarcity of men. Our pupils are driving for the Government Departments, Trade and Commerce, and Red Cross Ambulances, etc. It is easy and inexpensive to learn."

James Whitcomb Riley, remarks a writer in the "Atlantic Monthly," was hard to "draw out." At a dinner to Henry James he maintained a strict silence until another guest spoke to him of the felicity of the titles of Thomas Hardy's novels, instancing "Under the Greenwood Tree" and "A Pair of Blue Eyes." Riley remarked, dryly, "It's an odd thing about eyes, that they usually come in sets!" Henry James, it is said, failed to see the humor of the comment.

"Jacques, Emperor of Sahara," has refused to receive the sum of \$152,156.54, awarded to him by the courts of New York, and a celebrated case thus comes to an end. Jacques was the son of Max Lebaudy, the "Sugar King of France." After inheriting a vast fortune, he went with five hundred followers to establish an empire in the heart of Africa. He finally deserted his empire, returned to France, and sold his valuable estates there, becoming involved in the transaction with the Carnegie Trust Company of New York. That concern failed, and protracted litigation ensued, with the above

result. The money has been turned over to the city of New York.

A "bean hole," allusion to which was made in The Outlook of September 20 as a "bean pole" in the article on "An Enforced Vacation," is, we are informed, a "Maine woods institution." It is used for cooking baked beans, and is built in the ground, of stones "laid up like a wall," the sides being about eight inches thick. The bean hole, when complete, is about four feet deep and two feet across, inside of the stone lining.

Enlarging on the above statement, the author of the article quoted says:

A bean hole for half a century has been one of the essentials in a Maine lumber camp, but, with a large crew to feed, the hole is larger than the measurements given by me. A hot fire is kept burning for hours in the hole until the stone lining is sizzling hot. The fire is then pulled out. The beans, having been previously softened by parboiling, are put into a large iron pot, covered, and lowered into the hole. The embers are raked back over it. Earth is then pulled over the top after the hole is filled with embers, and there the beans stay for twenty-four hours. When they come out, they are food for the gods.

A Boston lawyer and his wife were recently lost for four days in the deep woods near Dixville Notch, New Hampshire. They nearly starved to death during their wanderings, finding nothing to eat but a few berries. Yet this is the season when the bears that still haunt New England's wilder mountain districts fatten up previous to hibernation. Will some naturalist kindly say what food the bears can find in plenty at this season? Is it wild honey? or is that delectable confection only the bear's dessert?

People of the West have sometimes been thought apathetic as regards the European war, yet from The Outlook's Chicago office comes the statement that one citizen of Chicago, a subscriber to The Outlook, is contributing from \$1,000 to \$1,500 *each month* to relief work for the Allies, "since Belgium's neutrality was violated."

Judge Lindsey, of Denver, was lunching one hot day, "Everybody's Magazine" says, when a politician paused beside his table. "Judge," said he, "I see you're drinking coffee. That's a heating drink. In this weather you want to drink iced drinks, Judge—sharp iced drinks. Did you ever try gin and ginger ale?" "No," said the Judge, smiling, "but I've tried several fellows who have."

Oriental rugs, it is said, are coming to this country in much smaller quantities than before the war, and possibly from more remote parts of the East. This may account for these unusual varieties of rugs advertised in a recent auction sale: Kellugui, Dozar, Melayar, Endjelas, Zaronimi, Famenine, Kaboutrahang, Elvendi, Mushkabad, Lelihan, and Dagadagabad.